New York Times Company

THE WEEK IN REVIEW









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w, when? The court set no

explicit timetable, but by referring to corrective action the state Legislature must take, it clearly postponed the noteholders' due date at least into January, when the Legislature meets.

As with the phrase "all deliberate speed" in segregation cases, the phrase "unnecessarily disruptive" in the moratorium case is vital and deliberately undefined. The definition will come when the court applies its reasoning to the specific plans for paying the noteholders are submitted for the judges' approval, as they must be.

Mayor Beame hurried bome from Israel yesterday to begin the work of finding the \$1 billion. State and city officials all agreed that the time given them by the court means there is no reason for panic, and they expressed optimism a solution will be found.

The reasons for optimism may be there but they were not evident. The city is already in deficit and must make further cuts in personnel and services; It has no money in its hudget to cover the new \$1 billion expense item; the state presumably has none either, the bonds of the Municipal Assistance Corporation, the new financial structure created as part of the recovery plan, fell sharply in value as soon as the court's decision became known.

Carter's Issue Is **Now His Problem**

President-elect Jimmy Carter, his attention already focused on the economy, got cause to keep it there last week: New economic statistics showed that while the rate of inflation continues relatively modest, the economy in general is showing no improvement. Thus Mr. Carter will soon face as President what was a short time ago his main campaign issue.

There is growing political and economic-expert discussion of what he should do to safely stimulate the economy. Among the possibilities mentioned bave been a one-shot tax rehate, public works and jobs programs and a broad-based tax cut. Mr. Carter has said he will not decide on a stimulus until he assumes office, and then only if the economy is still relatively stagnant. It appears his economic experts favor the one-time rebate on the ground that it would not limit future tax revenue available for other Government programs. Over 7.5 million

people are unemployed. The current level of economic activity, it appears, will not do much to reduce that jobless total. Among the statistics made public last week was a downward correction in the gross national product for the quarter of the year ending in September. The new figure is 3.8 percent; a 4-percent rates is considered the minimum to prevent an increase in unemployment. Industrial production, a major indicator of the economy's performance, dropped five-tenths of a percent in October.

The Consumer Price Index, bowever, the measure of inflation in retail prices, rose three-tenths of 1 percent in October, the smallest increase in seven months, A reduction in inflation has been President Ford's major economic goel, but the means he chose meant continuing high unemployment.

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Personal Perceptions Becloud the Dismal Science

Keynes and Freud Meet In the Free Market

By PAUL LEWIS

Economic man is not playing by the rule book again. That is not very suprising, hecause he seldom has.

All the same, it is awkward for professional economists when the laws of "the dismal science" are flouted on the scale they have been in the recent recession, for it suggests psychologists may know more about the path to prosperity or other, less inviting, places in the economic landscape than gentlemen with slide rules.

The evidence is substantial: · High inflation has gone hand in hand with high unemployment, although for years economists have claimed there was an inverse relationship betweeo inflation and unemployment.

· Despite rapid inflation, the man in the street has been hanking more money than ever before, apparently obilvious to the fact that its value is melting away, while the price of tangible goods is rising.

· Businessmen did not cut prices when demand for their goods fell, as theory says they should. Neither did unions cheapen labor when firms started laying off workers. Rather, they pushed up wages and priced more men out of jobs.

 Although Lord Keynes, the economic mentor of the times, believed governments could boost demand by pumping money into the economy, record budget deficits (the result of Keynesian policies) throughout the industrial world have produced only an anemic recovery so far.

• Even the free market has proved a disappointment. Adam Smith, the father of classical economic theory called it "the invisible hand" that would secure the welfare of all. But a cartel of oil exporting countries have grabbed most of the chips on the table, and there seems to he nothing that can be

Yet as Prof. Walter W. Rostow of the University of Texas says, none of this would seem so disconcerting to economists if they had read more economic history. For this is not the first time the world has experienced "stagflation," the combination of high unemployment and high inflation. Mr. Rostow finds regular occurrences of stagflation in 18thcentury and 19th-century Europe, when harvests failed, food prices shot up and industry slumped because people had less money left to huy other

Moreover, these earlier episodes of stagflation were weirdly similar to our own, for on each occasion rising raw material prices were a major cause of the trouble, although this time oil as well as grain was the villain.

The reaction of ordinary people then was similar. as well. Those who could also tended to hoard liquid funds. In 19th-century Britain, Professor Rosrow found, loans were called in and the Bank of England had to rescue country banks, just as the Federal Reserve Board and other central baoks throughout the world have been bailing out struggiing hanks during the past few years.

Dr. George Katona of the University of Michigan, En authority on what he terms "psychological economics," does not find this surprising, even though stockpiling goods might seem in make better sense than saving money. His studies of the behavior of the American consumer since the end of World War II show that only twice, in 1950 at the outset of the Korean War and again in 1972. did he react to inflation or other uncertainties by hoarding goods. At other times, he just saved more

The explanation, in his view, is that most consumers are rich enough to make discretionary purchases. In times of uncertainty, the normal reaction is to huy fewer unnecessary things and accumulate money for essentials. The same phenomenon probahly occurred in earlier ages, though on e smaller scale, because fewer people eojoyed such affluence. Similar explanations could be offered for the other apparent exceptions to the laws of economic behavior. Businessmen and workers have always beeo reluctant to reduce the price of what they sell. whether it is goods or labor, when demand falls oif. Even despots historically have been unable to stop merchants from forcing up prices, either by hoarding scarce goods or withholding those in plentiful supply from the market. As for wage rates, Lord Keynes based his whole approach to economic theory on the assumption that workers could never price themselves back into johs at times of recession by lowering their rate of hire. He knew that wage rates had not fallen in Britain during the great depression of the 1930's, aithough millions were out of work.

If workers would not work for less when times were had. Lord Reynes suggested, governments should expand the total demand for labor by printing money and spending it on works projects of their own. That is the way the industrial nation? have tried to preserve high employment ever since. But even this so-called "Reynesian Revolution" may not be so new. For when the monarchs of medieval Europe lacked the means to build castles or fight wars, both ways of creating jobs at the time, they debased the coinage, which was little different from Keynes idea of printing more money.

Neither is there anything very unusual about the emergence of the oli-producers' cartel in the last three years. Free markets may indeed maximize individual welfare in the end, but in gractice governments and individuals have found the lure of monopoly impossible to resist. The towns of the Hanseatic League tried to monopolize trade in Northern Europe in the 16th century, just as Queen Edizabeth I had created monopolies for herself in the lucrative salt and tobacco trade. Every speculator still dreams "cornering" a commodity market.

The truth is that while economic text books may explain how individuals and countries ought to behave, they are a poor guide to how they will behave in practice. All sorts of other factors enter into the equation, on the natural level as well as the porsonal. The real springs of economic action often seem buried in the mysteries of the psyche.

Paul Lewis is a New York Times reporter who specializes in economic offoirs.

Rich, Poor Nations: All in Trouble

By ANN CRITTENDEN

As Adam and Eve were fleeing the Garden of Eden, one version goes, Adam turned to comfort his sobbing mate. "Don't cry, dear," he reassured her, "we're just living in an age of transition."

While the global economy may not be facing anything as epochal as the loss of paradise, there is an uneasy feeling among many that the international system may have drifted into unfamiliar and bostile territory. The immediate cause of the apprehension is the impending increase in the world price of oil, on top of the stumbling of the economic recovery in Western Europe and Japan, after a similar slowdown in the rate of real growth (after discounting the effects of inflation) in the United States.

In the second balf of 1976, the 24 major industrial nations are now expected to show a disappointing annual real growth rate of only 3.5 percent, after a 6.5 increase in the first balf of the year, according to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in Paris.

The latest estimates, for a 5 percent rate of real growth in 1976 (after discounting the effects of inflation) followed by a 4 percent rate next year represent, in effect, a slide back toward stagnation only a year after the world economy began to recover from the worst recession in 40 years. And while few analysts are predicting that a new recession is in the wings, the estimates do not even take into consideration another oil price increase.

Even more troubling is the fact that the usual counterpart of slow growth-stable prices-has vanished with the nickel candybar. What was once patronizingly called the English disease, or stagflation, a combination of inflation and slow growth, has become a worldwide epidemic. Compared with the average rate of inflation in the 1960's for example, the annual rate in the first half of 1976 bad roughly doubled in Japan and the United States, had tripled in France, Britain and Canada and was alarm-

At the same time, unemployment, which once rarely kept company with inflation, is now also roughly double what it was during the 1960's in Western Europe and the United States.

The sluggishness, it is generally agreed, is a result of the failure of husiness capital investment to provide the second-stage boost to the recovery that was launched by consumer spending. But economists have no real explanations for the deeper question of the possible structural changes in the way the world economy is working. The causes suggested range from the disappearance of cheap energy and raw materials to unchecked expansion of y's world



money supply and to rigidities in the industrial system that prevent prices and wages from adjusting to

The economists' theories failed, too, to explain the workings of another major shift in the international economy, the emergence of floating exchange rates. These were expected to enable countries in international payments surplus or deficit to adjust , automatically; simply put, as a nation began to huy more than it sold abroad, the value of its currency would fall, its exports would become cheaper and more competitive greater foreign sales would stimulate demand for its currency, and equilibrium would

In practice, export prices have proved as sticky as any others, and as weak countries' currencies fell, the primary result was to make their imports more expensive, thereby increasing their inflation, and further weakening their currencies. In the jast two years, Britain, Italy and perhaps France have fallen into this downward spiral.

The slowdown and inflation in the industrial countries has taken its heaviest toll in the nonoil-producing developing countries, which like Britain and Italy,

have survived since the 1973 oil crisis only by acquiring a staggering foreign deot of more than \$170 billion. Most of that total is concentrated in the "middle income" countries such as Brazil and Mexico, each with an estimated \$22.5 billion in foreign

No precedent exists for these massive international imbalances, or for the fact that the private banking system has financed much of them including almost half of the total debt of the developing countries.

The immediate answer proposed by most poor nations is a general debt moratorium, aithough the heaviest borrowers among them have dissented not wanting to ruin their credit standing by even suggesting such a course. The debt has become the central issue in talks winding up between representatives of the industrialized nations and the developing nations in Paris.

Goaded by their underdeveloped allies, who increasingly feel that the oil producers have done little for them other than raise their import bills, the oil nations last week said that progress in the Paris talks-largely meaning concessions by the West on debt and commodity price stabilization-will be linked to their decision on how much to raise the price of oil.

The final ministerial meeting of the "North-Souto dialogue" of 27 nations is scheduled for mid-December, as is the coming oil producers gathering. Now both meetings may be postponed, as the fragile developing world albance waits to see whether the new Carter Administration will be more forthcoming in negotiations than its predecessor.

By all indications, this may well he the case. President-elect Carter's economic advisers have indicated a greater responsiveness to the troubles of the developing nations, specifically by expressing interest in certain price-stabilizing commodity agreements, and in the possibility of converting short-term commercial deht of the poorer mations into longer-term

Domestically, the Democrats are committed to a higher level of growth to the United States, which would in turn stimulate exports to the rest of the world, and have stressed the need for similar, more stimulative policies in West Germany and Japan.

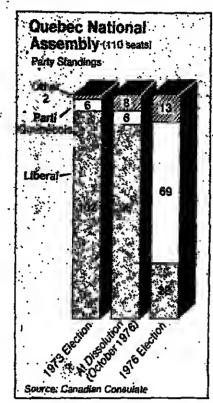
In short, the incoming Administration seems more worried about the instabilities in the global economy than President Ford's advisers, and more willing to experiment with solutions. But these cautious Democrats aren't making any promises that the new activism means that happy 22% will be here again, at least in the immediate future.

Ann Crittenden is an economics writer for The New York Times.

The World

In Summary

The Quebec **Separatists** Take Power



The voters of Quenec Province have toppled an incumbent Government, apnarently because they identified it with corruption and incompetence. In its place last week they chose a party that favors Quebec's independence from Canada although, according to polls, a majority of Québécois are still against that idea.

On the face of it, the victory of Rene Lévesque's Parti Québécois over the incumbent Liberal Party regime headed by Premier Robert Bourassa was an extraordinary upset. Mr. Bourassa says he will now leave politics. Before the election the Levesque party had held only six seats in the 110-seat National Assembly, the province's legislature; in the new legislature it will have 69.

The popular vote, however, shows a more modest if still significant swing. "In 1973, the Parti Québécois got 30 percent of the votes; this time it got 41 percent. The Liberals got 55 percent in 1973, dropping to 34 percent now. But the Liberal fallout did not all go to .. Mr. Lévesque's party. Minor parties this time got 25 percent of the vote,

In the campaign, Mr. Lévesque concentrated less on the issue of independence for the French-speaking province than on offering an alternative to a regime beset by charges of corruption and poor handling of the economy. But it is inevitable that he will have to confront the Canadian Federal Government of Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, himself a French-Canadian, on the independence question.

Mr. Trudeau, by fostering bilingualism (which really means fostering the speaking of French outside Quebec) and giving Quebec greater control over social programs, has sought to defuse the ethnic conflict. He made clear last week he will fight to keep Canada one nation. He said Mr. Lévesque bad been given a "mandate to form a government . . . not to separate the province from the rest of Canada."

For his part Mr. Lévesque is pledged to stage a provincial referendum on ... independence probably within two years. He may, however, face pressure to call the vote sooner because antiseparatist forces believe public sentiment is oow against the move, but that delay could give Mr. Lévesque time to use his new office to propagandize for independence.

No one expects a repetition of Bull Run on the Ottawa River but the increased possibility of partition of Canada bas profound significance for Canadians and Americans. Canada is not only by far the largest market for United States exports, it is also by far the largest source of raw material imports. Iron ore, asbestos and paper products from Quebec form a substantial part of that trade.

Negotiations are scheduled 'among the Ottawa Government, Quebec and the nine other provinces on revising Canada's constitution. That document, the British North America Act, was passed in 1867 by the Westminster Parliament. Periodically since then efforts have been made to replace it with Canadian legislation. All the efforts have failed.

Portugal to Get ALarge U.S. Loan

The United States, which publicly opposed the Marxist administration in Chile and secretly contributed to Its ouster, has agreed to lend at least \$300 million to the Socialist Government of Portugal. Washington remembers the Chilean episode for the censure that followed disclosure of the United States's covert activities; Lisbon is haunted by the internal weaknesses of the Chilean Government of the late Dr. Salvador Allende Gossens that created the opening for outside inter-

Dr. Allende's Government was a coalition of Socialists, Communists and radical leftist groups. The Portuguese Prime Minister, Mario Soares, formed a one-party Cabinet four mnnths ago, althnugh bis Snclalist Party won only a plurality in parlia-mentary elections, and he has stated repeatedly that he will not form a Communist-Socialist alliance. Where Dr. Allende was pushed by his coalition partners to accelerate leftist reforms to the probable detriment of the Chilean economy, Mr. Soares has proposed austerity measures and a policy of "competitive coexistence" with the private sector, halting nationalizations and promoting labor discipline to retain and attract investment capital. Portugal also has made clear its intention to remain within the Western militsry alliance and is seeking admission to the European Economic Community.

These differences between the Allende and Soares Governments, and Washington's desire to keep what it regards as a stable and nnn-Communist government in power in Portugal, prompted the American loan. While many of the Socialist austerity measures have been unpopular, Mr. Soares cootends they are necessary to allevi-ate a state of near bankruptcy left by a series of ephemeral governments following the revolution of April 1974. Portugal's balance of payments deficit for the current year is cooservatively estimated at more than \$1 billion and its gold reserves are almost depleted.

Chile Frees Prisoners

The Chilean junta that deposed the Allende Government in 1973 announced last week that it was freeing all but 20 of its remaining 300 political prisoners, whose detention has aroused protest in many nations, prominent among them the United States. Congress specifically cited the issue when it decided to bar military aid to Chile and limited economic assistance to an annual \$30 million and President-elect Jimmy Carter has said he would never propose aid to Chile unless the human rights situation there substantially improved.

U.S. Says No To Hanoi at U.N.

Nearly 20 months after the war in Vietnam ended, 795 Americans still listed as missing (presumably they are dead) remain a major bargaining lever as Washington and Hanoi move to construct a postwar relationship.

Last week, the United States again vetoed Vietnam's application for admission to the United Nations. The reason given was Hanoi's fallure to provide what the United States regards as a full accounting of everything Vietnam knows of the missing servicemen. The two countries have begun diplomatic talks in Paris, but the United States has stated repeatedly that it will not establish ties until the issue is resolved.

Whether the Vietnamese have more information than they have already provided is not known.

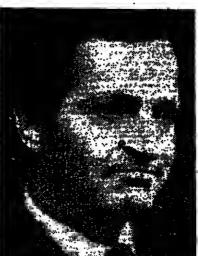
Newly unified Vietnam wants American economic aid, or at least an end to the United States' current trade embargo, to further a policy of economic independence. Hanoi already has acquired membership in such bodies as the International Monetary Fund and the Asian Development

Assuming the Vietnamese can and do clarify the status of the missing Americans, however, there is no guarantee they will receive suostantial monetary help. Even if President-elect Jimmy Carter proposes such aid-and Mr. Carter has oot said if he will do so there remains the question of wbether Congress will support him.

Spain Decides to Vote Once More

The parliament bequeathed to Spain by the late dictator, Generalissimo Francisco Franco, has voted its own demise and replacement by the country's first democratically elected legislature in four decades. The approval last week by the Cortes-by a large margin-was a concrete sign that while nothing really has changed in Spain, in a sense everything bas.

In addition to the Cortes, the authoritarian structures of the Franco era are still intact. The police still



Premier Adolfo Suarez of Spain.

Last Week's Vote in Quebec Only Adds to the Tension

An Uneasy Alliance: Canada and Its Provinces

By BENRY GINIGER

MONTREAL-Two French Canadians are to meet next month in one of the more dramatic confrontations in modern Canadian history. Pierre Elliott Trudeau, whose bome town is Montreal, is Prime Minister of Canada and is responsible for maintaining its territorial integrity. René Lévesque, whose bome town is also Montreal, is Premier-elect of Quebec after last week's election, and be wants to lead his province eventually to independence.

Both men are governing under extraordinarily complicated and delicate arrangements. Canada is commonly, and rightly, thought of as a sovereign nation able to make its own decisions in foreign and internal matters. Yet, Canada's basic constitution is not in Ottawa but in Londoo where, moreover, its chief of state resides. Queen Elizabeth's rule over Canada ia more symbolic than anything else, but what is not symbolic ia the British North America Act of 1867, which remains the basic charter of the Canadian nation.

The Quebec election involved more than just a change of parties and government. Because the Parti Québécois has as its fundamental option the independence of Quebec, suddeoly the rest of Canada must look on Quebec in a different light. But Mr. Lévesque must not only deal with Canada but with Britain as well. And Queeo Elizabeth is thrust into the role of George III trying to stave off a form of rebellion on the North American continent.

In each Canada Yearbook summarizing the state of the Canadian nation at the end of every year, there appears the following explanation of Canada's constitutional arrangement:

"Although the essential principles of cabinet government are based in custom or in constitutional usage, the Federal structure of Canadian government rests on the explicit written pravisions of the British North America Act. Apart from the creation of a Federal union, the dominant feature of the act and indeed of the Canadian federation was the distribution of powers between the central or Federal government on the one hand and the component provincial governments on the other. In brief, the primary purpose was in grant to the Parliament of Canada legislative jurisdiction over all subjects of common interest while giving in the provincial legislatures jurisdiction over all matters of local or parti-

Provincial jurisdiction extends to such matters as schools, roads, urban affairs and social welfare. The provinces have taxing powers equal to the Federal Government in a direct field but are restricted as far as indirect taxation la concerned. Quebec and other provinces depend on Ottawa to finance many of their programs and this dependency creates resentmensts because it restricts local freedoms. The provinces can to a considerable extent set their own economic and social policies including the establishment of minimum wages and conditions governing investments. But, as in the United States, such matters as defense and foreign affairs, including the setting of tariffs are Federal responsibilities as are communications, including the licensing of radio and television

Fullowing World War II, in which the Federal Government gathered greater power to itself, there has been an increasing tendency on the part of the provinces to want more autonomy. This teodency is accelerated by the political diversity of Canada's governments. The Liberal Party is in power in Ottawa but differs in philosophy from the Conservative and Socialist regimes in power in some provinces and, even from the departing Liberal regime in Quebec. In Quebec, the Liberal Party is run independently of the federal Liberal Party although many persons belong to both. The separation occurred in 1960 as a result of an unsurge of nationalism in Quebec.

The history of the federation since the act was passed is consequently one of tension between the Federal power in Ottawa and the local power in what has been, since 1949, 10 provinces. Nowhere has this tension been greater than between Ottawa and Quebec because of the simple difference between the English-speaking majority on the one hand and the French-speaking minority on the other.

Ever since Britain defeated France on the Plains of Abraham above Quebec City in 1756, Freoch Que-

hec has felt the need to defend the power whether in Ottawa or in Lon ernments have traditionally touch powers at the expense of the Feli This will now be more true than ev Québécoia in power. The party i that it intends to begin a steph with Ottawa to increase local re immediate future, the province in the Social Security system in w millions of dollars are at stake, and policy because that policy will help er French Canada remains French

These issues have been debate as moves have been under way to constitution home" by substituting ment for the British act The stymied to a large extent fallure of the agree among themselves over what Just so long as the British act does not have a completely free land.
British North America Act made no amendment of Canada's constituti by any legislative authority in Cam power of the Canadian Parliament to power of the Canadian except for m ing the legislative authority of the the rights and privileges of pro or governments. There continues to in the act for secession.

Even assuming the best will in the toward Quebec's demands a big as now, given Mr. Trudeau'a determ he is one French Canadian who does break up Canada Quebec at one point have to deal not only with Ottawa British House of Commons, From at minster is oot in the mood to preside dation of the Canadian federation

Would there be an Abraham Lincol fight a civil war over the issue and in London to put down a rebellion Crown? Both eventualities are more and all sides may then come around to able conception of Quebec's place American continent. The major conc and Londoo is that not only Quebe Other provinces, with strong econo United States, may also succumb to the tions as Quebec. The British North An been amended 14 times by the British The 15th will surely be the hardes.

Henry Giniger is a correspond York Times, based in Montreal.



crack down harder oo extremists of the left than of the right; independent labor unions have yet to be legalized and the nnly authorized parties are right of ceoter.

But the momentum for democracy has grown to such an extent since Franco's death a year ago that even the largely conservative deputies of the Cortes apparently realized that to have a say in Spain's future, they must renounce the institutions of its past.

The bill authorizing elections by next June for a two-chamber parliament (the lower house will be entirely elected: the other partially appointed) will be submitted to a national referendum before Christmas and is expected to be approved.

In the next few weeks, the appointed Prime Minister, Adolfo Suarez, is ex-pected to start negotiations with the various political factions to construct an electoral law specifying how many candidates can run where, and he will put the law into force by decree.

Problems remain. While the centrist and left-of-center parties are expected to seek and acquire legal status, the Suarez Government has yet to decide whether to legalize the Communists. (A probable compromise would be to let some Communists run as individu-

Political violence, particularly among the Catalans or Basques, could flare and spark terrorism from the right. Overriding all is the state of the Spanish economy, which has been undermined by strikes and flagging investment. While these problems may persiat, for the first time since 1936 it will almost certainly be a democratic government that will be attempting to resolve them.

Rebuilding In Lebanon

With Syrian troops now occupying Beirut and much of Lebanon, ostensibly as part of an Arab League peace force, and with most of the shooting in the 19-month civil war stopped, Lebanese civilians are beginning reconstruction of the city that formerly was the hub of Arab commerce. The first steps have also been taken by President Elias Sarkis toward reviving the government bureaucracy and such services as electricity, water and sanitation facilities.

Mr. Sarkis has yet to deal with the original cause of the fighting: the divi-sinn of power between Lebanon's Moslem majority and the Christian minority that previously dominated the country's economic and political life. Some Christian and Moslem leaders are against returning to the old system and are calling for a totally secularized state. Others, especially Kamal Jumblatt, the leader of the Moslem-leftist alliance, disagree and want a new government organized on a different but still confessional basis.

But the present respite will allow the Lebanese an opportunity to count the cost of the war. Even conservative estimates say that 35,000 persons died in the fighting. One Cabinet minister said last week 60,000 had died and, among the survivors, 1.7 million of Lebanon's 3 million people need help.

Counting the cost in Lebanon's commercial life will take longer. No one knows how much Lebanese capital left the country during the war and only time will tell whether Mr. Sarkis and his associates can provide sufficient

stability to attract it back and to attract again the outside capital that once used Beirut as its principal Middle East base. Many foreign banks and businesses have departed Beirut for Athens, Teheran and Arab capitals.

Rhodesia Talks Unsuccessful

With the meeting in Geneva moving at an apparently negligible pace, the racial war in Rhodesia has intensified. The white minority government of Prime Minister Ian D. Smith claims military "victories," but the question remains: Just how long can Rhodesian forces contaio the black oationalist guerrillas should the Geneva conferees fail to agree on a mechanism for a

peaceful transfer to majority rule? There were several indications last week that the whites were capable of resisting for some time. Although outnumbered by the nationalists, Government forces are much better trained. They also have assurances that South Africa, a major supplier of arms and ammunition, and Rhodesia's sole cooduit for weaponry slipped through the network of international sanctions, will not block deliveries provided the whites fulfill their commitment to try tn work out a settlement in Geneva.

The guerrillas are supported by the five so-called front-line African nations, but with the exception of Mozambique, where most of the insurgents are based, the support is esaentially political. They receive most of their weapons from the Soviet Union, which reportedly has stepped up deliveries in recent weeks.

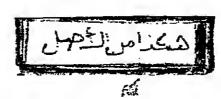
The Smith Government troops killed 31 guerilles in southeastern Rhodesia which it said was the hi toll in any single engine war. Mozambique sid forces attacked an army the border using 20 aircraft seven of the planes were s

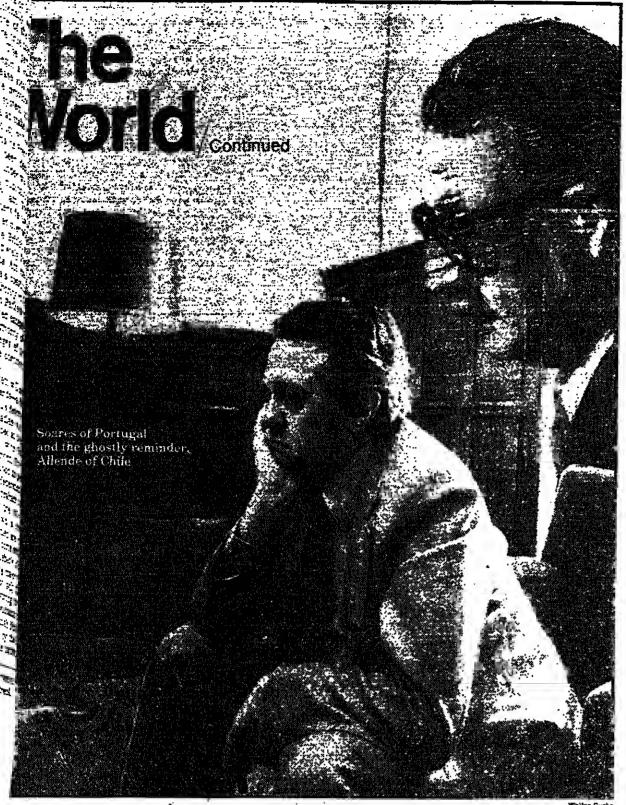
In Geneva, negotiation stalled over a date for in under majority rule. Bishop zorewa, leader of one of the factions represented, some oationalist leaders u "cheap power politics" I black delegation leader shown partiality by the in sors of the talks.

Brazil's Bisho Speak Out

The Roman Catholic quently critical of Brook Government, has delivered to stand terms the regime's toleration to the standard terms the regime's toleration to the standard terms. torture, unjust distributi land and failure to prote try's Indian's from

meot. The statement last National Conference of Bi sidered significant bet directed against the G President Emesto Gesel fice, in 1974, with the exp of bettering church state





he Aftermath of Portugal's evolution Is Expensive

By MARVINE HOWE

to the Tension

-After two and a half years of revolutionary all, Portugal is threatened with economic collapse. n has plummeted, consumption has soared, inflauning at 30 percent, investment is standing still ves are running out fast.

Minister Mario Soares has told the Portuguese at they must begin to pay the bill, jeopardizing his Marity and that of his minority Socialist Governthan four months in power, the Soares Govern-: ... ctaken a number of unpopular steps to correct is and abuses of the revolution," but their salutory e only just beginning to be seen.

ve in the common sense of the Portuguese people," s remarked the other day. "They understand we tough measures because after 50 years of fascism gars of anarchy, the country is on the verge of But the Portuguese people are visibly disenthe price Mr. Soares is asking them to pay for

PROPERTY.

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the aftermath of the April 25, 1974 military coup against the right-wing dictatorship. Hard-pressed suburban housewives daily damn the Socialist Government for all their woes and some have even been beard to mutter, "Soares should be lyoched."

Cashing io on the public's frustrations. Communists and radical leftists, as well as parties to the right of the Socialists, have stepped up their opposition to the Soares Government and are expected to make gains in elections set for December 12. The voting is only at the municipal and parish level, but it is considered a crucial test of the Socialist Government's popularity.

Mr. Soares, who has pledged 10 "respect the will of the people." probably would not resign if the Socialists poll less than the 35 percent they won in last April's parliamentary election, but he might bring members of the centrist parties into the caoinet if they make major gains. The Communists are oot expected to poll more than 15 percent in

The Prime Minister announced that one of his Government's immediate tasks was to restore the authority of the

state. He has made coosiderable progress toward this aim with the help of the military President, Antonio Ramalho Eanes. Unlike the postrevulution period of anarchy, now when the Government makes a decision, it sticks to it: demonstrations are orderly and the armed forces are firmly under the President's control.

Nevertheless, the seeds of destabilization still are present. While terrorist bombers have eased their attacks, they still move with impunity. A bomb exploded last week at the home of António Lopes Cardoso, the left-wing Socialist Deputy, causing considerable damage but no victims. Lopes Cardoso, who had just resigned as Minister of Agriculture, was under fierce attack by conservative farmers and by his own party's right wiog for his agrarian reform policies.

The bombing stirred universal protest and strong pressure for the reorganization of the security forces, which already seems to be having its effect. But the Soares Government, has made little headway toward its principal objective: reviving the economy. The balance of payments deficit is estimated at about \$1.165 billion this year, unemployment is over 15 percent, production is lagging-Portugal imports over 50 percent of its food-and the level of private invest-

The Government has initiated an austerity program that has resulted in widespread public outcry and seems to have hurt most those who can least afford it. A 25-to-31 percent increase in the price of pubbc transport caused general disgruntlement and riots at the Lisbon ferry. There was even more protest against a forced savings plan that substituted government bonds for workers' usual Christmas bonus. Living costs have veered sharply upward with a new 20-to-30 perceot surcharge on imported goods and a 60 percent increase on "superflunus or luxury" imports such as shellfish, candy, wioes, tobacco, perfumes, furs and jewelry. The middle class has been hard hit by continually rising property and professional taxes.

Measures to restore social calm have not reassured management but have enraged the labor unions. One new ruling limits fringe henefits, overtime and sick leave and sets a 40-to-45-hour legal work week. Annther measure authorizes dismissal for a wide array of "just causes." There is also a proposal to bar strikes in vital services. The decree setting up a single national union confederation, dominated by the Communist Party, has been revoked and there have been unsuccessful attempts to establish a parallel organization.

At the same time, the Government has moved to correct same of the excesses committed under the Communistdominated agrarian reform program. About 100 illegally occupied farms have been returned to their owners but there are many more claims. A ruling last week provides for indemnitics for nationalized property-paid in government bonds, which is unlikely to make the beneficiaries very happy. There also have been moves toward social reform. Work has begun on an important new housing program and a national bealth service. But the general complaint is: too

In sum, Mr. Soares is trying to restore economic and social order in this country but be is meeting strong resistance, even from within his own party. The left wing of the Socialist Party, who form a vocal minority, have cpenly attacked the Soares Government for its "procapitslist" labor policies.

Neverthcless, the Government's efforts to stabilize the revolution have won broad international support, although until recently this has been largely verbal. Two weeks ago, however, a meeting of the European Free Trade Association confirmed that a \$100 million fund has been set up to develop small and medium industry in Portugal. Then last week it was announced that the Ford Administration had approved a \$300 million emergency loan to Portugai and would seek Congressional consent to participate in a longterm \$1.5 billion consortium with West European countries. namely Germany, to help this country.

Mr. Soares was enthusiastic, saying that the large American loan was "a demonstration of confidence" in Portugal's young democracy and in its Socialist Government. "Now the conditions have been created for economic recovery," he declared. "We have the necessary political and military stability, a new fer-reaching development plan and the political determination to carry out our projects."

Last week, the Government presented its economic plan for 1977, which is to be debated by the legislature. In essence, the plan forecasts a substantial increase in public and private investments in productive sectors, a reduction consumption, increased expenditures for social services, price controls on essential food items and the creation of 125,000 new jobs.

There were protests against the continued high defense expenditures, now that the coionial wars are over and Portugal is demobilizing its oversized armed forces. Nevertheless, initial reaction was favorable. The plan does not solve the country's economic crisis, but the feeling was that

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Echeverria Defending Reforms

Conservatives In Mexico Are Sure Their Day Is at Hand

By ALAN RIDING

MEXICO CITY-After being on the defensive for the last six years under President Luis Echeverria Alvarez, Mexico's conservative middle and upper classes are now confident that the country's current economic troubles will force President-elect José López Portilla to move sbarply and rapidly to the right.

Even before Mr. Lopez Portillo takes office Dec. 1, conservative groups are not only openly denigrating the performance of President Echeverria, but also trying to force the band of his successor. Even the United States State Department, long irritated by Mr. Echeverria's militant advocacy of the interests of developing nations, is making no secret nf its belief that, with inflation and unemployment on the rise following the recent devaluation of the peso, an economically vulnerable Mexico will be obliged to seek a more tranquil and passive relationship with Washington.

Aware of the gathering of conservative forces, however. Mr. Echeverria seems determined to prevent a reversal of his reformist policies. Rather than quietly leave office, he has launched an offensive against "reactionaries" and "minorities" in a clear effort to mobilize and alert leftist opin-

Heightening the nervousness that traditionally accompanies changes of government in Mexico, the ideological confrontation of the last six years has therefore become particularly bitter during the final weeks of the Echeverria Administration, causing serious political unrest and further undermining confidence in the economy.

Following a substantial new outflow of capital late last month, the Government was forced to devalue the peso. The currency, which maintained a fixed parity with the dollar for 22 years, has now lost over balf its value since Aug. 31. Adding to, the shock caused by these devaluations in an economy preoccupied with monetary stability, scores of rumors have been provoking anxiety among businessmen. One such rumor that Mr. Echeverria would use the army in order to remaio in office after Dec. 1 became so strong that senior military officers were brought out to reiterate their support for the constitution.

But even independent observers feel that much of the present uncertainty arises from Mr. Echeverria's reluctance to surrender power, even to a hand-picked successor from





President Echeverria and President-elect Lopez Portillo of Mexico.

the same long-ruling party and with whom he has mainlained a close friendship for 30 years.

Although Mr. Lopez Portillo was chosen to be the next Mexican President more than 13 months ago, he remains a mystery to most Mexicans, cautiously avoiding any criticism of the outgoing administration and giving only vague bints about his policies.

In contrast, with only days left in office, Mr. Echeverria continues to hold on to the political spotlight, leading a caravan of politicians on a valedictory tour of the country, inaugurating projects, making provocative speeches, being praised by sycophantic party officials and unavoidably coming under more suspicion.

Yet, even if Mr. Lopez Portillo wished to pursue the same policies as his predecessor — and presumably that was Mr. Echeverría's intention in picking bim - Mexico's essectially authoritarian system demands strong government and would oblige the new President to impose his authority on the country, even at the risk of clashing with Mr. Echeverria. Mr. López Portillo's personality is so different from that of Mr. Echeverria, more intellectual, less rhetorical, more pragmatic, less visionary, that new policies would be expected almost automatically.

However, more than anything else, the poor shape of the country that he will inherit - more politically divided than at any time since the 1968 student movement, economically weaker than at any time since 1954-will probably define the ideological coloring of his administration. Even leftist intellectuals seem to agree with conservatives that a swing to the right in the coming years is inevitable. To avoid the danger of a right-wing rebellion, perhaps supported by some army elements, Mr. Lopez Portillo must reunite the country by appeasing conservative opinioo, and to ensure a recovery of the economy, he must persuade Mexican and foreign businessmen to resume investing.

With their hand strengthened by Mexico's desperate need for new foreign credit, commercial bankers and the International Monetary Fund are now in a position to lay dnwn the law. In exchange for loans exceeding S2 billion since the first devaluation, three months ago, they have already told Mr. López Portillo he has no choice but to improve strict austerity and slash government spending. They are prepared to add to Mexico's \$23 billion foreign debt and are able to do so - last week Mexico secured an \$800 million European loan, its largest single commercial loan ever because of continuing confidence in the country's basic political stability and optimism over its important new oil reserves. But new pressure on Mexico to accelerate crude oil exports, currently running at only 125,000 barrels per

Similarly, organized labor, pampered by the Echeverria Administration, can look forward cheerlessly to controlled wages and higher prices, the quid pro quo that the private sector is demanding for a resumption of investment.

Because of the strengthening of leftist political groups during the Ecbeverria Administration, on the other hand, protests at these measures in the form of strikes and peasant land iovasions could merely force the new government further to the right

The role of Mr. Echeverria will be crucial: He could use his influence over labor and peasant organizations to make austerity acceptable: or be could encourage protests and force Mr. López Portillo even deeper into alliance with private sector.

Whatever the outcome, Mr. López Portillo's domestic difficulties will be so immediate that he can be expected to give less priority to foreign affairs and may slowly abandon Mr. Echeverria's fervent campaign for a "new world economic order." The basic principles of Mexico's foreign policy will be

oping world and an "open-doors" policy for Latin American

maintained, among them, a formal commitment to the devel-

Alan Riding, o journalist based in Mexico City, writes frequently on Lotin American subjects for The Review.

Chile's Official Withdrawal Is Further Harm to an Effort at Economic Integration

ne Latin Andean Pact Is Not Working Out

By JONAHAN KANDELL

" JANEIRO-Latin American political and economic 1 bas been a dream ever since the days of Simon "iore than 150 years ago. The most serious effort . is elusive goal has been the Andean Pact, an association formed in 1969 by Chile, Peru, Ecuaa and Colombia, and joined by Venezuela in 1973. .. up sought to promote freer trade among memcapital and technical resources, and allocate inreduction more rationally among their countries. was that only an entity encompassing 70 million onsumers could develop a full-scale, modern indusomy capable of giving the Andean nations the

e Andean Pact bas suffered a serious setbackfatal one—since Chile has officially withdrawn

·) deal with multinational companies and powerful

such as Brazil

parture of Chile not only deprived the pact of member, but also underscored the contradictions ulties that developing nations everywhere face uggle to achieve supranational unity and a stronging position vis-à-vis industriàlized countries and B:221 5 ping countries is how to maintain a continuity Spean a right-wing military dictatorship came to power rrough a violent coup against the late President Illende Gossens. A drastic about-face took place

policies, domestic and foreign. g effort was immediately undertaken to erase e Government's socialistic programs, to roll back pation of the state in the economy, to stimulate te enterprise and to woo back foreign investment. forced a break with the Andean Pact by objecting y to controls on foreign investment and the high

ed on imports. ig the growing nationalist sentiment of the late arly 70's, the Andean group had limited profit s by foreign companies to 14 perceot, later in-20 percent. The part had also stipulated that ms would have to 'rfade out" their control over orises over 15 years.

leans pointed out that ever since the Andean 1 Kandell is a correspondent for The New York

ed in Brazil, who also reports regularly from h American nations.

Pact rules went into effect, foreign investment in local industries and services has dried up. By contrast, Brazil, whose regional hegemony the pact sought to counteract, bas attracted more than \$5 billion in foreign investment over the last decade.

Sergio de Castro, the Chilean Minister of Economy, broadened the attack further and converted it into a debate which is currently being echoed throughout the developing world-on the merits and disadvantages of foreign investment and multinationals. As the Chileans see it, the continued absence of foreign investment will mean that the Andean countries will bave to depend on local capital to achieve a desirable growth rate. The buildup of local capital could only occur through some sort of forced program of national savings, and that could only come from a cuthack in consumption.

Mr. de Castro argued before the other Andean Pact members that foreign investment brought other advantages such as technology, managerial talents and knowledge of markets

that could not easily be obtained eisewhere. We cannot compromise ourselves on a reginnal scale with the same model which failed us so absolutely within our own country," Mr. De Castro said.

Opponents of the Chilean arguments say that unfettered foreign investment in the past did not bring about an economic takeoff in their countries. There is also widespread criticism of multinational firms for failing to do enough to transfer new technology, to spread managerial talent to local firms and to help the host countries penetrate markets abroad.

Although the Chileans feel certain that their continued membership in the Andean Pact discouraged foreign capital from entering their country, other critics argue that Chile's economic depression, high inflation and repressive political image bave also belped scare away foreign investors.

Beyond these theoretical arguments, the Chileans also questioned the practical accomplishments of the Andean Pact in terms of trade and industrial development among the members. The pact has moved at a snail's pace to decide how new industries would be shared. After seven years of the pact's existence, legal trade among members has reached only \$900 million annually. That is probably less than the value of contraband that pours across their countries' borders.

The Chileans, for example, carried out a two-way trade with their Andean Pact partners to at amounted to about \$150 million last year, compared with \$1 billion in their commerce with nonmembers. Argeogna and Brazil.

Officials of the Andean Pact have tried to sec a silver lining in Chile's departure. According to Diego Morcno Jaramillo, Colombia's Minister of Integration, who is chairman of the pact's executive commission, the argument with Chile had stagnated progress within the Andean group for a year. He said that now "it will be possible to give definite push to industrial programs that have been under intense study."

The continent has been swept by right-wing military regimes which have different ideas on foreign investment. The Bolivians are known to sympathize with the Chilean attitude. Within Peru and Ecuador, whose military regimes bave recently undergone coups by more conservative elements, there exists strong pressure among business groups against the pact's investment rules. It is no coincidence that the Andean members with the most investment capital --oil-rich Venezuela and Cnlombia, with its booming cnffee exports—have recently been the strongest defenders of the



The Nation

In Summary

Outsider Carter Acts the Insider While He Waits

Although two months remain before Jimmy Carter is inaugurated the attention cormally focused on the Presidency bas already begue to shift toward him and away from the man who will bold the office until Jan. 20. That shift is also normal for transition periods, but Mr. Carter has accentuated it by adopting a more Presidential style of activity than many of his predecessors as President-elect.

While taking pains to emphasize that President Ford continues to hold the full responsibilities and powers of the Presidency, Mr. Carter has held two formal press conferences in which he expressed himself on a wide range of foreign and domestic matters. In his second one, last week, he said be expected to work compatibly with Federal Reserve Board Chairman Arthur Burns, that the oil-exporting nations should refrain from raising prices at their meeting next month and that his proposed health and welfare programs would be partly paid for by reducing the cost of the bureaucracy through reorganization.

Mr. Carter has also moved relatively promptly to establish liaison with the Congressional leadership. Meeting with a delegation of House and Senate Democratic leaders in Georgia, he asked them to work for legislation that would facilitate his reorganization plans by giving him authority to restructure agencies subject to Congressional vero.

In the choice of his Cabinet, too, Mr. Carter has been displaying deliberateness. He has let it be known that he had asked his staff to recommend for consideration at least four qualified persons for each available position: one who had experience in Washington, one who did not, one black and one woman. The nominating procedure is evidently intended to give substance to a major theme of his campaign, that "fresh faces" are oeeded in govern-

Mr. Carter also suffered one of the embarrassments of high office, staff dissension. An important adviser on energy and natural resource policy, Joseph Browder, resigned from the Carter transition team. He asserted that he bad been denied proper access to the President-elect because other staff members considered his views anathema to the oil industry, whose confidence in the new administration they were attempting to keep. A spokesman for the transition team said Mr. Browder had departed because he had not been offered a sufficiently important Government post.

During the transition in 1960 from the Eisenbower to the Kennedy Administration and in 1968 from the Johnson to the Nixon Administration, the iocoming chief executives also tended to take the limelight. Mr. Carter's activity may be standing out in sharper relief because of Mr. Ford's relative inactivity. The President had been vacationing until last week, which he spent working quietly in the White House oo his forthcoming budget proposal and his final State of the

Church in Plains Was Not Alone

When the Plains, Ga., Baptist Church decided last week, with the encouragement of its most famous member, to end its policy of excluding blacks, the congregation belatedly joined the majority of the natioo's churches in abandoning racial barriers. But despite the disappearance of explicit exclusionary rules, most churches in the United States remain segregated in practice for many of the same reasons that foster de facto school desegregation.

Racial separateness in churches is apparently a reflection of segregated residential patterns that are reinforced by a form of "white flight" whenever blacks begin appearing in numbera in a formerly predominantly white congregation. Despite espousal of racial justice by the national church governing bodies, few congregations have taken the initiative in trying to recruit black members. Only about 2 percent of Roman Catholic church members are black, and the largest black enrollment in any of the major Protestant sects is 3 percent.

There are positive, as well as neg-ative, reasons for separateness in reli-gion. The predominantly black churches—there are six main denominations—that originally developed as a response to official racial exclusiveness by whites have maintained their hold on their members, in part by stressing the importance of black racial pride in a religious context.

President-elect Jimmy Carter's role in persuading the Plains church to rescind its ban on blacks may presage other personal and official acts by Mr. Carter on behalf of racial equality, a principle to which Mr. Carter has declared himself committed. He is expected to appoint more blacks than has been customary to important Government posts and to enroll his 8-yearold daughter, Amy, in a largely black

Washington, D.C., public school.
One aspect of the current controversy over the proper scope of judicial remedies for school segregation may be decided soon by the United States Supreme Court. The Court bas agreed to hear a case that could determine the extent of the judiciary's authority order curriculum changes as well as pupil reassignment to cure the effects of official discrimination.

The case involves the Detroit school system. The United States District Court there accompanied a pupil transfer order with a ruling that several educational programs must be extend-ed throughout the city to make up for disadvantages suffered by some studeots because of official discrimination in the past. The State of Michigan, which was ordered to help pay for the programs, contends that the District Court exceeded its authority.

7 Governors Get Together, Maybe

The Governors of seven northeastern states bave gotten together to try to draw both attention and aid from the Federal Government, figuring this is the right time, with a Democrat elected to the White House.

The meeting predictably included proclamations of harmony among the seven, a plan for economic recovery and a pledge of aupport in principle from a high policy advisor to the President-elect, Jimmy Carter. But these exchanges are a long way from action. In practice the states involved have conflicting needs and interests. New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, for instance, are in competition for new industry.

In his campaign Mr. Carter was sympathetic and promised action on the problems of cities in general and of the Northeast in particular. As President, he will have a national constituency and the interests of several regions to balance. The Northeast sends 78 Democrats to Congress. But the representatives of all the other sections there, regardless of party, far outweigh them, and national policies designed primarily to promote the welfare of one area are not likely to be easily approved.

There may also be new questions about whether anything ought be dooe. A Government study released last week questions the Governors' primary premise, that the Northeast needs help because it has lost jobs and industry to the South.

The Governors called for an "econoraic and energy development corporation" that would raise low-interest money for the Northeast through Federally guaranteed loans.

Assassination **Panel Organizing**

A recently impaneled House Select Committee on Assassioations has announced as expected that it plans to gather a preliminary staff of 170 lawyers and homicide detectives for its parallel investigations of the murders of President John F. Kennedy and the

Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. The formation of the special committee had been urged by a oumher of assassinatioo "atudents" and potential conspiracy theorists in both Houses after a Senate subcommittee oo intelligence reported earlier this year that the findings of the Warreo Commission may have been based on incomplete information.

The House committee has asked the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Central Intelligence Agency for all documents and memoranda pertaining to the killings.

Miss Hearst Out On High Bail

Patricia Hearst has been freed from custody for the first time since her capture more than a year ago, evidently because the courts baving jurisdiction over ber are convinced that there is no danger of her fleeing. The Hearst family posted bail of \$1.5 million.

The decision to release Miss Hearst may also have been influenced by a coocern for her safety in prison, She was recently transferred from one prison to another because of reported threats to her life

Miss Hearst was convicted on Feder-al bank robbery charges and sentenced to seven years in prison. Miss Hearst also faces state charges

of assault, kidnapping and robbery in Los Angeles. The judge in whose court she is to stand trial on Jan. 10 concurred in the decision to grant bail.

Caroline Rand Herron and R. V. Denenberg

Correction

In The Week in Review of Nov. 7 it was incorrectly stated that the election of Howard Metzenbaum of Ohio increased the number of United States Senators who are Jewish to o record four. Edward Zorinsky, Democrat of Nebraska, is also Jewish, and his election Nov. 2 brings the number

Suspicions of Bungling and Coverup Still Linger



President and Mrs. Kennedy, with John Connally, shortly before the President was the

Why Another Assassination Inquiry?

By DAVID BINDER

WASHINGTON-On the eve of the 13th anniversary of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, subpoenas have been sent out in search of new information about his murder and that of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. The investigation launched by the newly established House Select Committee on Assassinations is the sixth to be conducted on a large scale by Government officials since the 35th President was killed Nov. 22, 1963.

Why another inquiry? Its origins appear to lie in four quarters: a Congressman who is a self-styled "student of political assassioations," another who genuinely believes in a conspiracy theory, a group of black Congressmen who feel the King murder investigation was a cover-up and, finally, some Capitol Hill investigators who feel there are still unpursued trails. Beyond these motives is a lingering suspicion on the Hill that even :f the Central Intelligence Agency's past misdeeds have been largely exposed. parallel misdeeds of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and its long-time chief, J. Edgar Hoover, remain largely voexamined.

Congressman Henry B. Gonzalez, the promote: of the new House inquiry into the Kennedy and King murders, said it was "the summer of 1973-Watergate-when I became inwardly very disturbed, that certain questions became very poignant, that the F.B.I. would destroy documents, and that the C.I.A. was corruptible." Mr. Gonzalez, author of the resolution on Feo. 19, 1975, that eventually gave birth to the new committee, said "watergate raised a serious level questions I had suppressed before."

The Texas Democrat, by his own account, has been interested in the Kennedy assassination ever since that day in Dallas when he rode in the motorcade that carried the President to his death. Mr. Gonzalez, who was 47 years old at the time, began

collecting a private file on the murder. He hes remained a "student of political assassinations" ever since, adding the King murder, the killing of Robert F. Kennedy and the attempt on the life of Alabama's Gov. George Wallace to his interests.

Earlier this year he found an ally in Thomas N. Downing, Democrat of Virginia, who, after viewing an amateur film of the Kennedy assassination, coocluded that the shooting was not the work of Lee Harvey Oswald but of a conspiracy. The two Representatives were impressed by the work of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, woich had exhaustively studied the possible relationship between the killing of President Kennedy and the C.LA.'s plots to assassinate Cub2's Premier Fidel Castro. That study began with Senator Richard S. Schweiker's statement that the 1964 Warreo Commission report would "collapse like a house of cards" when all the evidence was in and ended last June with the less confident conclusion that there were still "promising leads" to be explored.

Representatives Downing and Gonzalez fought to get an investigation of their own approved. The Rules Committee was evenly split for a time. A staunch opponent was B.F. Sisk, the California Democrat, who declared on the House floor on Sept. 17: "Let me urge my colleagues, for gosh sakes, if they have any respect, as I'm sure they do, for the dollars of our taxpayers, let us vote this resolution down." He spoke of "witch hunters" with "some kind of melodramatic desire for the morbid" and observed: "I thought we put this thing to bed a long time ago, but it seems to ever raise its head." Eunice condemning the proposal as a publicity-seeking ac-

But new disclosures of F.B.I. coverups in the investigation of Martin Luther King's death breathed new life into the cause championed by Representatives since, adding the King murder, the killing of Robert

tant members of the Conglessional including Walter Fauntroy, delegate from of Columbia, and Ronald V. Dellums California.

Mr. Gonzalez was also persuasive cans, including the influential John nois, arguing that it was time for a Congressonal study of political country. "Enough time has elapsed to

tive and unimpassioned view of the line.
In the end, he and Mr. Downing had 800
A distinctive feature of the new in that it will be cooducted by a profite tive attorney, Richard A. Sprague, who than 60 first-degree murder cases as a in Pennsylvania. Previous investigations men and lawyers as staff aides, Mr. La but never a professional prosecutor.

Is there, in fact, more to be learned much-discussed and long past events as and King murders? A Capitol Hill me with the Senate investigation that ended said last week that "some things are will and that the Senate committee had per good hole in the Warren Commission The official was referring principally to clusive F.B.I. reports about a Cuban Rolando Culeio who apparently worked C.LA. and Mr. Castro, and about mysic who slipped out of the United States shortly after the assassination 13 years The latest "new" piece of evidence to Lee Harvey Oswald was known to dum by J. Edgar Hoover to the Warren It has been dismissed by Congressional as "insignificant."

David Binder is a reporter in the reau of The New York Times.

So Far, Not Much Sign that Carter's Will Be Different

Cabinet-Choosing Process Seldom Varies

By JOHN HERBERS

WASHINGTON-When the White House is passing from one party to another, the President-elect traditionally uses the process of selectine a Cabinet for much more than assembling the people who will hold top positions io his Administration. He uses it for healing the wounds of the election campaign, for consolidating his position among friendly interests, for broadening his base of support in Coogress and across the country and for quieting fears about

his approaching Presidency. Jimmy Carter is proving to be no exception in the politics of Cabinet selection despite the fact that he ran a campaigo which emphasized a new measure of independence from the groups to which Democratic Presidential candidates are usually beholden: labor unions, political machines, public officeholders, and

While Mr. Carter was talking by telephooe last week to leaders of various interest groups to solicit their recommendations for the Cabinet, Hamilton Jordan, who mapped the campaign that made Mr. Carter President-elect, was telling reporters that the Cabinet would be a mix of "women, men, people of different races, people of different philosophical views." At the same time, the Carter staff, concerned about indications that the economy may be io trouble once again, sought to reassure the business community that they would not appoint to the top economic policy posts persons incompatible with prevailing views among businessmen.

Mr Carter bas been maiotaining close liaison with labor leaders, blacks, environmentalists, members of Coogress, governors, mayors and others whose support he waots after January 20. As a result, the lists of people purported to be under consideration for important posts are long, so long as to be mean-

Mr. Carter may, as be promises, have a Cabinet of persons broadly representative of the electorate, fully authorized to run their departments and able to influence policy. But Washington, which has wit-



nessed a series of broken promises in recent years. is skeptical. The rhetoric of Cabinet selection and the outcome bave been two different things io the

Exactly eight years ago, Presideot-elect Richard M. Nixon, assembling his government to New York's Pierre Hotel, was promising a strong the retaries who would be permitted wide don't want a Cabinet of yesmen," he said ed that it would contain a Democrat Republican and a black. His Cabinet b have none of those, and the persons were subacquently downgraded as author centered in the White House.

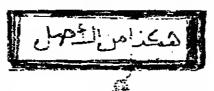
The politics of Cabinet selection is important after a narrow victory—as we er's this year, Mr. Nixon's in 1968 and los dy's in 1960-in order to broaden supp new Administration. But the lack of a as Presidents call an electoral landsis tie the President-elect to practices of making his choice.

Search for Independence Mr. Carter, for example, who points as an outsider, free of Washington sought to run a campaign independent C.LO. hierarchy, the mainstay of tradi cratic support. Yet the election turned so close that Mr. Carter could well have of the large industrial states had not the conducted the most extensive get out in io its history. Thus, it would come if Mr. Carter veered from the tradi labor leaders veto power over prosp tor Secretary of Labor. Nor can his last date encourage him to break from such pa as appointing a Westerner as Secretary or or making all of his choices south

members of Congress. President Nixon could appoint a Cabi middle class conservative males because elected largely with the support of which "middle America." By the same token is feeling pressure to pur blacks, and people who support the needs of cities into high positions because the volt sources was beavily weighted in his fare.

Although Mr. Carter ran an anti-Wis paign, he is expected to draw some of his from Congress or from the good of old is who have been a part of the Wash years. The reason is that he needs getting his programs enacted much would had he won by a wide mich President has talked of achieving balant net with respect to interest and et Carter, like his predecessers, is se what balance he can but is influenced pressures of campaign delits and the form an administration that can impose

John Herbers is deputy chief of Times Washington hur



ath, Taxes and her Rates Utilities

litany of inevitabilities probably to be amended to read death. and utility rate increases. Both York Telephone Company and dated Edison are back asking

probably will get most of what ant. The record shows that so he 1970's the telephone compaasked the State Public Service ision for an aggregate of rate amounting to \$1.35 billion; mission has said yes to \$1.16

time company has had six rate in the last six years, includin the last 13 months totalling on. This time it wants an of \$393 million, or 12.5 perigo into effect late many case, commission to consider the ap-

> Edison wants its sixth increase ral gas charges in six years, one pold add 93 cents a month to erage residential bill, \$14.41 if sed for heating as well as cookhich is the case for 133,000 cusabout half in the city and half chester County.

1969, the everage monthly tial telephone hill in New York les risen almost 100 per cent, 12.60 to \$24.84; rates are about ne in the suburbs, with some ions, and slightly lower upstate. same period, the regional Con-Price Index has gone up only ercent.

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company says its increases have revitable and the conditions that them so are not likely to change next few years. Officials say frequent requests for help in the s is a kind of "catch-up bail": had not had a rate increase for ars before 1970.

len more, the phone company, like rone else, has had rapidly increasthor and equipment costs. But unveryone else its phone rate rises ... the expenses of all other busi-.- and therefore raise the cost products they sell—and to al-Il individuals, increasing their r higher wages.

r the proposed rates, long-disalls would go up substantially. st of installing a new phone ise from \$18 to \$40, installing psion phone from \$4 to \$20. pposals rejected by the commisby phone rates to 20 cents, as ther states, and offering-only York City and Buffalo for now otion of time limits on calls a single message unit area. In rk, a customer's minimum bill be \$7.82 for 50 calls and he alk as long as he wanted on ithin his area. But if instead to keep each of these 50 calls 5 minutes, he would pay \$6.82, the price would go up with 2 over 5 minutes. The impact ntire package would be hardest where local calls cover larger

Edison is seeking an extra \$34 in natural gas revenues an 11.8 percent increase, also in late 1977. There was no to change electricity rates, . ave gone up six times in the

stility also appounced that it ked two areas in the mid-Hindley, one near New Paltz, the 1 upper Red Hook, as possible a new generating station to rticipated power needs in the groups concerned with the ment already have said they ose both sites.

ents: it Nyguist . . .

itter dispute between the New ate Board of Regents and the ducation Commissioner, Ed-Nyquist, is over: Mr. Nyquist n dismissed.

egents long had held the conthat Mr. Nyquist, whose job idminster the system while the is policy, had been encroaching board's functions.

equal importance was an ideocal split between the increasnservative men chosen by the ure to serve as Regents, and al Commissioner, whose active for school desegregation, in ir, was opposed by many Re-

rsely, Mr. Nyquist reportedly : the board was trying to ina his domain, Last spring, a of the Regents supported an ssful bill that would have iem the power to review the sioner's quasi-judicial rulings. a Regents' chief executive offi-Nyquist, who was appointed board in 1969, had enormous -perhaps more than any other m official in the country. He isdiction over all educational ons in New York and the distribution of nearly \$3 billion in State aid, in addition to regulatory and disciplinary authority over all professions

The vote to dismiss Mr. Nyquist by next June was 8 to 7. However, any inclination to reverse the decision appeared remote.

No possible successors have been named-one contender thought likely, Thomas D. Sheldon, a deputy commissioner, resigned in a show of support for Mr. Nyquist-but whoever the Regents select probably will have to agree to the reduction in powers that the Commissioner fought.

... And Take Up Other Matters

It was a busy week for the New York Board of Regents. The board said it is going to try to change what is generally regarded as the basic unfairness in the way state aid is distributed to school districts. Under pressure from the have-nots, and mindful of legal action seeking to overturn the present formula, the board last week proposed redistributing the state's \$3 billion in aid in such a way as to give New York City and balf the poorer districts in the state more than they are getting oow. The city, which now gets \$608 million a year, would receive \$42 million more, and the suburbs less.

It has been accepted for years, even by many who profit from it, that the distribution of school aid in New York is inequitable. Little has been done about it because districts that would lose funds under a fairer system have been powerful enough in the State Legisleture to prevent mejor change.

The Regents' proposal, in reducing aid to the hetter-off districts, many of them in suburban Westchester, Nassau and Rockland Counties, would probably mean higher property taxes for residents there, already heavily hurdened. Their Albany legislators are expected to fight hard against the Regents' proposal.

Each year, in fact, a set-piece battle takes place in the Legislature over proposed changes, however minor, in the distribution of school aid; the suburban legislators align with those from rural districts to hold onto what is generally considered a disproportionate share of state assistance. These legislators gained their advantage when suburban and upstate voters achieved the balance of power on this

This year, however, significant reform might have a chance because. without it, the courts may force on the state a formula more painful for haves than that succe Regents. A suit initiated by Levittown, L.I., (which ironically would lose aid under the Regents' plan) and joined by New York City, Buffalo, Rochester and Syracuse, contends that the heavy reliance on local property taxes for school funding is inherently unfair because wealthier districts are able to spend more than poorer ones. Some districts, for example, spend only \$1,000 per pupil, while others spend well over \$2,000. A ruling on the suit is expected by spring.

In New Jersey, e similar court test was decided in favor of the bave-nots three years ago and a fairer method of financing public education went into effect last September. In Connecticut the question is also in the courts.

Judge-Elect Is indicted

Robert T. Groh, a former New York City Sanitation Commissioner and now a Civil Court judge-elect, has been indicted on charges of bribery and grand larceny in connection with an alleged \$10,000 political contribution for a zoning change in Queens.

Mr. Groh, who has denied the charge. is one of the most prominent politicians to be indicted by a grand jury hearing evidence presented by the office of special State Prosecutor John F. Keenan, who succeeded the controversial Maurice H. Nadjari. There were additional major court developments last week concerning public officials:

John McGrath, a former official with the Long Island State Park Commission, was convicted of extorting more than \$22,000 from towing-service operators in return for granting them franchises. He was also found guilty of income-tax evesion.

An indictment charging Stanley



Robert T. Grob

Steingut, New York State Assembly Speaker, and his son, Robert, a New York City Councilman, with "corrupt use of position," was thrown out. The Appellate Division of State Supreme Court in Brooklyn held that the Kings County grand jury had lacked jurisdiction in the case, in which it was charged that a job had been offered m return for a campaign contribution.

. Mr. Nadjari was accused by the New York State Commission of Investigation of baving leaked information to the press; public officials were said to have been "improperly ternished." Mr. Nadjari, who was removed last June after a hitter dispute with Governor Carey, said the charges were not

Nursing-Home Scandal Grows

Abuse of Medicaid programs has aiready been extensively recorded as affecting most aspects of health care for the poor in New York State, Last week, however, there were new charges that if true will add many millions of dollars to the Government's losses because of fraudulent practices.

Charles J. Hynes, the state's special nursing-home prosecutor, said he had found in a new area of inquiry that kickbacks by suppliers of nursing homes were widespread and that "our indication is that the same kinds of abuses are found in all provider services in Medicaid," including hospitals and pharmacies, which are outside his jurisdiction.

Mr. Hypes announced the indictments of 26 nursing-home owners, operators, employees and suppliers in connection with alleged kickback schemes, said to average \$500 per supplier per nursing bome. The indictments were handed down by grand juries in Brooklyn, Queens, the Bronx and Nassau and Suffolk Counties, all conducting investigations of the nursing home industry, which gets 33 percent of all Medicaid funds.

There apparently were three major kickback schemes: A supplier would bill the nursing home for more than the amount owed; a supplier would issue a false invoice for deliveries that were never made: a supplier would add nonexistent items to an otherwise legitimate bill.

In each case, Mr. Hynes said, the nursing home would pay the amount requested to the supplier, who would give oack to the home, in cash, the difference between the actual amount owed and the inflated fill. The mursing home then would file the inflated hill with the State Health Department for Medicald reimbursement. The supplier made the kickback to get the

Previous to these indictments, Mr. Hynes had concentrated on nursing home operators. Those inquiries resulted in the indictment and conviction last summer of Bernard Bergman, considered the central figure in the nursing home industry in New York State. on charges of fraudulently hilling Medicaid for \$2.5 million. Mr. Bergman is now serving a four-month prison sentence on Federal crimes and faces another sentence on state charges.

This is what has been learned so far with respect to Medicaid ebuses. in the \$3 hillion-a-year state program: Hospitals. State investigators charge that hospitals in some cases needlessly

admitted patients just to receive Medicaid funds, and in other cases billed the program for days when patients had been sent home on weekend visits. again to realize the Medicaid funds. The legality of these practices is uncertain, but one state official said they "smacked of fraud."

Physicians and Medicaid mills. Some physicians have been suspended from Medicaid practice. Some "Medicaid mills," neighborhood facilities where generally low-income patients can get a range of services under the same roof, have been closed following alleged abuses. One of the abuses is known as "Ping-Ponging," in which patients come to the facility with 2 single complaint and are referred to a number of specialists. Another abuse is known as "family ganging." in which a plays rise treats all members of a family accompanying a sick person whether they are sick or not.

Laboratories. New York City investigators say they have found differences in rate structures in some laboratories that they consider to be abusive of the Medicaid program. An example: Blood tests were available to private individuals for \$2, while the fee charged Medicaid patients was S5. The officials said they found in general a discrepancy of 500 to 800 percent in the rates of tests available to private persons and those charged Medicaid

There have been similar although far less extensive inquiries of Medicaid fraud in 23 other states, including New Jersey. In that state, about 15 doctors have been indicted and investigations of nursing homes are continuing. There is no known Medicaid investigation under way in Connecticut.

Car Insurance Ata Premium

Only a few years ago, a small car such as a Volkswagen cost about \$2,000. If insurance companies have their way, some New York automobile owners will be paying that much just for their annual premiums.

Those premiums have risen sharply for everyone in the last year but most dramatically for those in the so-called assigned risk pool. Now the insurance industry, citing continued high medical costs and prices of car parts, wants the state to approve a rate increase for motorists in the pool that could double what some are paying.

Regents' Attack Is Only the Latest

How Fair Are Schools Paid For by Taxes On Property?

By EDWARD B. FISKE

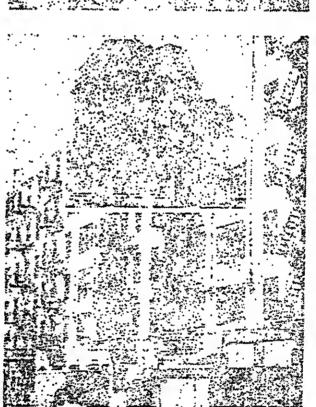
When European educators visit American schools, the one feature that usually surprises them most is the extent to which education in the United States is a local

Unlike most other nations, the United States has no central ministry of education with the power to set curriculums, establish hiring policy and, above all, allocate money to run the schools. Education is legally the responsibility of the states and except for Hawaii, they for all practical purposes delegate this responsibility to local

Americans spent \$67 billion on public schools last year. Only 10 percent of that came from the Federal Government. Nearly half-48 percent-came from local taxes. while the remaining 42 percent went to local districts from state treasuries.

The result of this decentralized system is that the starting point in building education programs is the method by which local communities raise most of their funds:





the property tax. This method is now under attack throughout the country as unfairly penalizing poor con-

Last week, the New York State Board of Regents proposed a sweeping revision of the formula by which the state allocates its school aid, one that would keep total expenditures more or less constant but gradually shift money over a four-year period from wealthy to poor districts.

Beginning with a 1971 California case, Serrano v. Priest, state courts have ruled that systems hased on the property tax violate equal protection clauses of the Federal and state constitutions. The reasoning is not that property taxes per se are wrong but that the effect in most systems is to favor communities with high property values. In keeping with these decisions, about 20 states have taken steps in the last few years to reform their systems of financing schools.

The systems in use in the three states in the metropolitan area vary considerably in their approach and, judging by current legal trends, their apparent constitu-

The most regressive system is that of Connecticut, where the state treasury provides only 22 percent of the \$1.2 hillion now being spent on public schools each year (next year the figure will drop to 20 percent).

The basic element of the state aid formula is a flat grant of \$250 to each student based on average enrollment at the beginning of October and May. This means that the state provides the same amount to a student in West Hartford, which in 1974-75 spent an average of S1,834 per pupil, as it does to a student in Griswold, which spent \$779.

At the other extreme, New Jersey has a newly-enacted system of distributing school aid that has been accepted by the courts and is based on the principle of equalizing taxing power. In brief, the state assumes that every district should have the equivalent of \$86,000 of property values for each student. If a district has less the state in effect subsidizes its property tax to bring it up to that

There are, however, some qualifications. Every district, no matter bow wealthy, must receive enough aid to cover 10 percent of its school expenses, and no district, nowever poor, can receive aid above the level of spending of the 65th percentile on a scale of affluence, now \$1,528

Thus, a district with \$43,000 in property value beaind each pupil would be eligible for reimbursement for exactly half of its expenses. If it taxed itself at the rate of \$2 for each \$100 of assessed valuation, it would raise \$860. The state would then provide 50 percent of the uoper limit of \$1,528, or \$764. The district would then have a total of \$1,624 (\$860 plus \$764) to spend on each

As e result of the new system in New Jersey the level of state aid has risen from 29 percent of total expenses last year to 38 percent this year. It is expected to stabilize at about 40 percent next year.

The present New York system, which has been in effect since the 1920's, lies somewhere in between the other two It begins by assuming a base level of expenditure of \$1,200 and then subtracting \$15 for each \$1,000 of full

For example, a district with \$50,000 in ratables per pupil would receive \$1,200 minus 15 times \$50 or \$450 per pupil. A poorer district with \$20,000 in ratables would receive \$1,200 minus 15 x \$20 or \$900.

In theory this system, which along with several forms of categorical aid supplies 39 percent of school expenses. is relatively progressive, for it makes state aid inversely proportional to local wealth, as measured by property values. The problem, though, is that it has never been

For one thing, the law mandates a minimum grant of \$350 for each pupil. Thus any district with \$80,000 or more in ratables per pupil should, under the formula, receive no aid. In practice, it still gets the \$360, or about the same as a district with \$63,000 in ratables.

In additioo, the Legislature each year has adopted a "save harmless" provision under which no district can receive less state aid than it did the year before. As a result, virtually every district is now receiving more funds than it should under the formula. Officials say that \$330 million, or 14 percent, of the \$2.3 billion of state operating aid, goes for "save harmless" funds.

The reasons for this are complicated but boil down to two factors: districts that are losing enrollment are not finding their state aid reduced proportionately, and the formula does not take into account the effects of inflation. When property values go up, the level of state aid (the difference between \$1,200 and 15 multiplied by the property value per pupil in thousands of dollars) goes down. Thus more and more districts are forced into the "save harmless" category.

The Regents' proposal would eliminate both of these deviations from the relatively progressive basic formula. It contains no provisioo for a minimum grant and calculates aid on the basis of average actual expenses rather than a fixed figure

Nevertheless, it remains to be seen whether this oroposal, even if it becomes law, would satisfy the courts.

Edward B. Fiske is education editor of The New York

Even those not in the pool would be affected since they, in effect, subsidize part of the coverage for the others. The pool, once a repository for the accident-prone, is steadily growing as companies become unwilling to write new automobile policies, even for people with unblemished driving

The State Insurance Department, which must pass on the requested increases, last week heard the following example of what could happen if the insurance firms get what they want:

An adult from Breeklyn with an intermediate-sized car and no history of accidents buys the minimum required liability coverage and \$100 deductible collision and compreheosive. His annual premium, now \$926, would rise to \$1,860. With a chargeable accident within the last three years, it would be \$2,120.

Some brokers warned that many motorists, unable to gay their premiums, would let their policies lapse once their cars were registered and drive illegally, without any insurance at all.

New York City residents, already paying the highest rates, would be affected the most. If the same Brooklyn person lived in Hempstead, L.I., his yearly premium would go from \$580 to \$1,097. And while comparisons are difficult, the equivalent coverage in New Jersey and Connections for someone in a "nigo-rate territory," like Brooklyn, would cost a little over \$500.

The requested increases, averaging 51.7 percent for compulsory liability and 94.8 percent for optional physical damage coverage, come amid comolaints that the insurance industry is basing its automobile rates on faulty tima. The burden, it is charged, now falls unfairly on the young and on poor city dwellers.

Although insurance companies defend their actuarial tables as sound, critics say there is "no credible statistical evidence" for the 161 classifications used to determine premiums, including age, sex, marital status, place

of residence and amount of driving.

Two of the most important factors are age and residence. One study, by the National Association of Insurance Commissioners, found no justification for the big difference between premiums paid by young drivers and old drivers in urban areas.

The reform suggested most frequently would rate drivers mainly on their eccident records and history of violations. At least two states, Hawaii and North Carolina, have passed laws adopting such a system. But it is too early to tell how well they work.

The Suburban Budgets

Public budgets, which are among the indicators of economic health, can be political weather vanes as well, and in the metropolitan area they are pointing toward next year's elections.

Two county executives who will be up for re-election next November, Alfred B. DelBello of Westchester and Ralph G. Caso of Nassau, have proposed 1977 hudgets that do not violate political tradition: They offer relatively tiny spending increases and slight but voter-

Residents of Suffolk County have been less fortunate. There, County Executive John V. N. Klein, a Republican, does not face an election next year. And the Democratic-controlled Suffolk Legislature, which does, adopted last week a 1977 hudget that is \$1.7 million larger than Mr. Klein had wanted-\$578 million, an 8 percent increase over this year.

pleasing reductions in property taxes.

Political exigencies aside, the recommended budgets reflect a perceived need for continued government belttightening. Mr. DelBello, Westchester's first Democratic Executive, insisted welfare spending would not go up "by a single cent," a pledge he may have trouble keeping because of certain state requirements. It is possible he will have to reduce appropriations in other, as yet unspecified, programs.

His suggested \$399.3 million budget represents the smallest annual increase in 10 years, 6.2 percent. Property taxes, if the county Board of Legislators approves, would drop by an average of 7 cents, to \$22.3 per \$1,000 of assessed valuation.

Similarly, Nassau's Mr. Caso, a Republican, wants a spending limit of \$796 million, only \$30 million more than this year, enabling property taxes for most residents to drop by 8 cents to \$7.45 for each \$100 of assessed valuation.

In neither Westchester nor Nassau would the slight tax cuts have much impact on homeowners. School district and town or village taxes represent most of their overall tax obligations; county levies are only a relatively small fraction.

Milton Leebaw

The Region/Continued

Ella Grasso's Two-Year Fall From Triumph

By MICHAEL KNIGHT

As the returns came in on election night and it became apparent that normally Democratic Connecticut was voting for Gerald Ford, a thought occurred to more than one political observer in Hartford; Had Ella Grasso cost the Democrats Connecticut? Had her unpopularity extended that far? The answer, after the pundits had been consulted, was "no." Or at least "not completely."

But the fact that the question had been asked at all underscored the dimensions of Connecticut's ongoing political drama, a combination Greek tragedy/soap opera in which a popular politician is chosen governor by an overwhelming margin and then seemingly rushes toward political self-destruction.

Only two years after her election by more than 60 percent of the vote, the memory of Governor Grasso's popularity has receded. And while she says publicly that she Intends to run for a second term in 1978, party leaders are talking about giving the nomination to someone else. Some observers say she is looking for a job in the Carter Administration, perhaps to avoid finishing out her term.

In a Greek tragedy an innate flaw in the protagonist's personality leads inexorably to his downfall. In Mrs. Grasso's case the problem appears increasingly to be not some flaw in her personality, hut rather the absence of the late John M. Bailey's personality. Mr. Bailey, who was a political kingmaker in Washington and Hartford for more than 20 years as state and national Democratic Party chairman, had managed Mas. Grasso's career, forged her political alliances, and directed the political acrobatics that politicians need to stay in favor and cut of trouble. He died in early 1975, soon after Mrs. Grasso took office.

One Disaster to Another

In his absence Mrs. Grasso has ricocheted from one political disaster to another, turning friends into enemies and minor problems into fiascos: The performance has splintered the Democratic Party and soured much of the electorate, but so far has not interfered with the functioning of the state government, which in Connecticut is not allowed to do very much anyway.

Mrs. Grasso's problems began less than two months after her inauguration. The outgoing governor, Thomas J. Meskill, a Republican, had promised to leave her a small budget surplus, the result of four years of austority programs that had earned him the nickname "Tough

Tommy Mrs. Grasso, however, saw in those hudget figures not a surplus but a deficit estimated as high as \$80 million, and she cut the budget, taking aim first at the state's 40,000 public employees, who had not had a raise for years under Mr. Meskill and had voted for Mrs. Grasso with visions of Democratic sugar plums in their minds. She called for a wage freeze.

But the General Assembly, an overwhelmingly Democratic body elected on Mrs. Grasso's coattails by the same unioo votes, refused to go along, giving Mrs. Grasso her first major political defeat.

A few days later, however, and after what several participants called extensive arm-twisting, Mrs. Grasso forced the legislators to reconsider and vote for the pay freeze in an embarrassing public reversal.

That was less than six months after her inauguration, and Mrs. Grasso had already (1) alienated a major bloc of supporters; (2) suffered a major legislative defeat, and (3) alienated her party's legislators by her strong-arm tactics and by humiliating them publicly.

The pay freeze was not enough to resolve the deficit she envisioned, however, and Mrs. Grasso called the legislators into special session in December, 1975, threatening to lay off 500 workers if her program was not nacted. She wanted a \$40 million veterans fund transferred t Connecticut's general coffers to ease the state's cash flow problems and wanted the work week lengthened for state employees from 35 hours to 40 without extra pay. The General Assembly refused, and Mrs. Grasso laid off the 500 workers, just before Christmas. She thus: (1) further alienated the unions; (2) additionally alienated the veterans; (3) further aliensted the legislators and (4) suffered another

When the General Assembly reconvened last February, Mrs. Grasso presented them with the same demands, which were refused again, as was almost all of Mrs. Grasso's legislative program that session. The estimate of an \$80 million budget deficit, mesnwhile, began to sbrink as tax revenues exceeded Mrs. Grasso's early projections and by July the state was found to bave a \$32 million surplus.

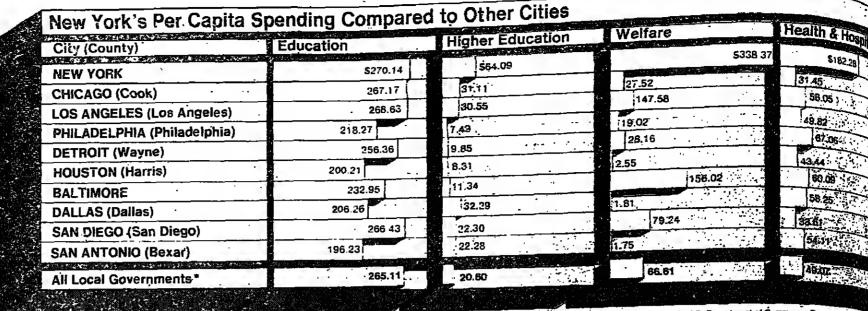
Subplots Didn't Help, Either

Interwoven with this main theme of budget problema were several other subplots equally damaging to her political career. In October, 1975, Mrs. Grasso announced that someooe "in a high political office" was suspected of taking a \$250,000 bribe to facilitate the State Gaming Commission's approval of a jai alai fronton in Bridgeport. Mrs. Grasso played "I know who it is but I won't tell you" for a week and then, when the name of John M. Bailey came out, burst into tears. The resulting scandal, which never did put the blame on anyone or establish whether a \$250,000 bribe had been paid, left her besmirched by association. After that she attempted to abolish the gaming commission as "too political" but was rebuffed by the General Assembly in another major defeat.

Simultaneously, there was the involvement of Herman Wolf, an old friend of Mrs. Grasso, in a plan to sell the state a 253-acre park on Lake Candlewood for \$6.6 million. The plan fell through after charges that the figure was based on a fraudulently inflated appraisal of the land's value. No wrongdoing, however, was found.

Coinciding with these developments was the beginning of the Presidential race in Connecticut, and a primary that saw many of Mrs. Grasso's former supporters backing Mr. Carter while party liberals backed Senator Morris Udall. Mrs. Grasso stood almost alone in her support of Senator Henry Jackson. Mr. Carter won the primary. Senator Jackson received only a handful of votes.

By the Democratic National Convention in July, Mrs. Grasso had decided to join the Carter force by naming one of their members, Peter G. Keiley, as party chairman, sacrificing her own appointee, William O'Neili. The Connecticut delegation spent most of the convention



*For all local governments in 74 major slandard metropotitan statistical areas. . .

HIGHER EDUCATION How the City EMPLOYMENT Spends Its Money (Percent of total expenditures and total employed in selected areas) **EMPLOYMENT** Source: New York City Office of Management and Budget EDUCATION EXPENDITURES EMPLOYMENT EXPENDITURES EMPLOYMENT POLICE HOSPITALS EXPENDITURES EMPLOYMENT **EXPENDITURES** EMPLOYMENT EXPENDITURES EMPLOYMENT EXPENDITURES EMPLOYMENT

How the City Managed to Spend It All

A report issued last week by a special mayoral sion provides illuminating data on how New York fiscal priorities have shifted over the last 15 ha what those shifts have meant in terms of delivery of to the city's residents. The report also supports the sion, though not explicitly, that the heavy burden programs is in part responsible for the city's fiscal The charts on this page have been extracted from the

The chart above compares the city's per capital tures in four areas with those areas in ten one equivalent city/county governments, and with the per capita expeoditure of all local government areas. Three of these functions are considered an -not all city governments provide them-and areas, the city's per person expenditures rank at or secood in the nation, and, in most cases, far a spent by other local governments. In the me service area measured-primary and secondary to New York ranks fifth in the country, which me despite significant expenditures in areas other one little on, and despite its recent fiscal problems & still spends nearly as much as any other city is its young.

The second group of charts illustrates changes is city has allocated its manpower and money reso the last 15 years. While the proportion of expendi number of people employed in essential series fire, sanitation, education—has declined, the population other services has risen rapidly, especially for set city's combined welfare and hospital expenditure larger than those for the four essential services. total expenditures increased sharply over this pe while the amount of money spent for essential now four times as great as that in 1961, the ame on welfare, hospitals, and higher education is times as great.

This shift in emphasis from essential services programs can be explained in two ways. The demography of the city-simply expressed by the more poor people-has created a greater deman programs in the last 15 years. And the fact that Federal government contributes matching funds of these programs has also provided an incening proliferation. But, despite the apparent shift is precity's per capita spending on essential services is when compared with that of most other cibes

Somehow It Escaped New York's Financial Woes

Port Activity Is One Bright S

By MICHAEL STERNE

Despite the decisive talt of the nation's population and manufacturing toward the South and the West, and the no-growth economics of the Northeast, the Port of New York remains the main conduit of America's foreign trade and one of the few healthy parts of the metropolitan area's

The amount of general cargo flowing through the port hit 16,735,000 long tons in 1974, the highest level since World War IL The year before was almost as good: 16 .-231.000 long tons. Last year, with recession making a big dent in international trade, there was a falloff to 14.090,000 tons, but there has been a rebound, with a recovery of 5.4 percent in the first half of 1976.

By another measure, the amount of containerized cargo passing through New York, the port lonks even healthier. Containers are the main way goods in foreign commerce are moved by sea, and New York had more than a third of the nation's container movements in 1974, the most recent year tabulated by the Department of Commerce. The total was 583,000 containers, up 10 percent over 1973.

Nevertheless, the outlook is not all rosy. New York City has had to scrap plans for further pier development because of its inability to borrow for capital projects. It now is negotiating with the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, which can raise capital, in the hope that the agency will take over the projects and complete them. In addition, technological advance in the form of the

container revolution of the 1960's has produced changes. General cargo handling has moved within the port from Hoboken and Manhattan, which do not have the open spaces needed for container work, to Newark, Elizabeth, Staten Island and Brooklyn. And job opportunities bave shrunk. Before containers came into use, the port employed an average of 22,000 dockers a day. Now it employs 7.000 a day. In other industries, the costs of such change are borne

by the workers. On the waterfront, however, because of the presence of a strong union, the International Long-shoremen's Association, the shippers are bearing it. Eleven thousand men receive pensions of \$6,000 a year and 5,500 others get full wages of \$16,640 a year even though they do not work. The costs of these benefits and other benefits is an asseasment of \$6.85 a ten on cargoes handled here, more than in any other port. This is sending some business to other ports. Of the 170 American and foreign shipping lines that use

New York Port, only 12 save investments in terminals here and ar interest in maximizing their use The others, because of New York's generally higher costs, try to pick up and discharge cargoes in other ports, One result is that while New York still handles by far

the most tonnage of any port in the country the foreign trade has dropped significant. of World War II. 40 per cent of the name foreign commerce went through New York about 11 percent. Should this cause worry

Yes, because New York's continuing had share depends on the frequency of sadings, of destinations and the specialized services But as competing ports grow, they are sike sailings and more services, thus cutting No vantages.

The answer is also no, however, because other ports is not so much an indication of it with New York as a natural result of the ed opment of the rest of the country. Unless cial reasons to push cargoes another way the nearest port, and the ports of the south are closer to the prowing population and The key economic fact is this by agre

ship operators, the cost of moving goods lantic is the same for a shipper whether has Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore Roads. What does vary is the cost of between the coastal ports and the inland container to Peoria, for example, costs \$6 through New York than if it goes through cause Baltimore is closer to Peoria.

It is a sign of the continuing attraction Port and its ability to overcome geographic that only slightly more than half the core comes from New York, New Jersey and Co rest comes from even such distant such

California, which have excellent ports of Nevertheless, the port has problems the Strengthenian Strengthening rail service is a major ne region. The failure of the Northeast's six region. it with only one carrier, Cornell, and man

New York's Lisa law, designed to pe cooperate in the Arab boycott sential is ing business to other ports, athough ho pute. Moves to get the Federal Govern lation, equalizing anti-boycoit regulations are being prepared.

And the Port Authority is pursuing tional campaign in this country and should

Such campaigns are useful, but not delle torts also are promoting themselves. York Port healthy is what way has be rigorous regional economy.

Michael Sterne is o New York Fu in the economy of the New York



squabbling about the appointment, Mr. O'Neil) refused to

resign and Mrs. Grasso by then had so many enemies she

was unable to replace him when the state Democratic

Convention was held. At that point she had (1) suffered

another defeat; (2) alienated even more Democrats; (3)

alienated her own party chairman, who sat out the cam-

paign, and (4) left the party facing the election in bitter

After the convention Mrs. Grasso attempted to campaign

for Mr. Carter in Connecticul, but found union hecklers at any sizable gathering. As a result, most of her cam-

paigning was conducted outside the state. But when Mr.

Carter visited the Electric Boat submarine shipyards in

Groton, she was unable to stay away and was boosed by

Mrs. Grasso did not campaign actively for the state's

Democratic Congressional candidates and did not cam-

paign for Gloria Schaffer, an old friend who is the state's

Secretary of State and was waging an unsuccessful fight

for a United States Senate scat against Lowell P. Weicker

Mrs. Grasso's political future, however grim it may look

now, is subject to change. The economy is improving, the

battle scars of 1975 are fading, and Mrs. Grasso did end

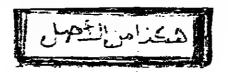
up in the Carter camp, even if he did lose the state.

disarray and leaderless.

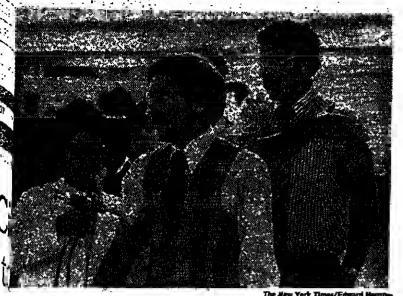
many of the 11,000 unionists.

Jr., the Republican incumbent.

Ella T. Grasso



ummary



Swine flu shots are administered to Connecticut residents.

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Mar. 27.

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ost eight months after President and Congress decided there "be swine-flu immunization for nericans, the program is so far I schedule that the goal will in ilihood prove impossible to meet. are two principal reasons: The time was late io being delivered to health facilities, and public reto the vaccinations has been han eothusiastic, probably beof the deaths of a oumber of . y persons after they received

agreement between Congress and our major companies that manuare flu vaccine created most of delay. The companies said they e unwilling to face the possible sequences of liability suits from iniduals claiming to have been injured

the vaccine. he Administration therefore asked gress for legislation to indemnify companies against such claims. form such legislation should take debated in Congressional committhroughout the summer; many essmen were unwilling to transibility from private, profit-makompanies to the Government. 7 Congress passed a law making wernment the original defendant suits arising from flu vaccina-

ang. 10, approximately 120 miltoses of vaccine had been prein bulk form. But because the tion did not take effect until Sept. 30, the distribution of e was delayed until that date. irst inoculations took place in apolis and Waltham, Mass., on -more than two months after officials had hoped to see tions begin.

lly begun, the program ran into or problem almost immediately ly October, when the highly zed deaths of the elderly oc-A number of state programs even briefly suspended until sts had determined that the were coincidental and the vac-

Meanwhile, the program bad also lost impetus because of statements by health professionals and others that perhaps the swine flu was not so virulent as had first been feared and because no further cases had been observed since the original breakout at Fort Dix, N.J.

As things oow stand, the Federal Government estimates that somewhat more than 20 million adult Americans have been immunized, leaving around 120 million yet to be reached.

Photography Of the Heart

Scientists at the National Institutes of Health have developed a computerassisted method of making motion pictures of the heart in action that offers several advantages over traditional ways of making internal heart pictures.

The new method, call radionuclide cineangiography, takes only half an hour, as against at least two days of hospitalization for contrast angiography, the traditional method, Therefore it can be used for outpatients, permits screenings of larger popula-tions, and is less expensive, dangerous and painful than ordinary angiography. The radiation dose is also much

Moreover, in contrast angiography the patient must remain at rest, while in the new method pictures can be taken during exercise. Thus early signs of coronary beart disease that cannot be detected in a resting heart may be discovered in the exercising heart. In addition, the functional importance of a heart lesion may be studied during exercise, when it can be different from the conditions that obtain in the heart at rest.

In cootrast angiography, a material opaque to X-rays is passed through on artery into the chambers of the heart by means of a plastic tube. But the new method requires only an injection of radioactive material into any vein. An instrument that registers radioactivity is applied to the patient's chest, and a computer scans each point of radioactivity every onehundredth of a second, constructing a moving picture that can be viewed on

a television screen.

In a talk before the American Heart Association in Miami Dr. Jeffrey S. Borer of the National Heart, Lung and Blood Institute io Bethesda, Md., suggested that, because people can now be repeatedly screened for early signs of coronary heart disease, researchers could hope to select a test population for long-term observation. Such observation could determine whether early signs of asymptomatic heart disease become more acute with time, and could permit the study of the effects of various therapies over long periods,

Another **Teacher Union?**

The National Education Association, a teacher's organization with 1.8 millioo members, has said that it will begin a membership drive among New York City schoolteachers to form a union against the 65,000-member United Federation of Teachers, headed by Albert Shanker.

John Ryor, president of the N.E.A., said New York's teachers had indicated they wanted a change. He criticized a proposal by Mr. Shanker to suspend collective bargaining for the duration of the city's fiscal crisis. He also said the N.E.A. was prepared to pursue better working conditions, better grievance procedures, and better protection of the rights of

At U.F.T. headquarters, Mr. Shanker said, "When this battle is over, the teachers of New York City will stay with our union."

Minority Enrollments

Minority enrollment has dropped in medical schools and leveled off in law schools in a trend widely ascribed to a change in the nation's mood. Some civil rights advocates fear educators are not so committed to minority recruitment programs as they once were,

In 1970, 2.8 percent of first-year medical students were minority-group members; blacks, Mexican-Americans, mainland Puerto Ricans or American Indians. By 1974-75, the proportion had risen to 10 percent, but it is down now to 9 percent.

Minority enrollment in law schools rose from about 4 percent in 1970 to 7.5 percent in 1974 and stood at 7.4 percent in 1975. Current figures have not been compiled.

To reach "affirmative action" goals, admissions officers often give special consideration to minorities. At least one lower court has found this practice unconstitutional, and the Supreme Court has made it clear that it is willing to rule on the issue. Meanwhile, educators say, uncertainty may be making colleges wary of anything that looks like "reverse discrimination."

Educators willing to speculate on the leveling off of enrollment in law schools proposed that minority members may not be so eager to become lawyers as in the past, partly because other fields have opened up to them. It is also suggested that the sluggish economy has a different psychological impact oo the races. Some blacks may avoid law school because they anticipate dim job prospects, while whites may assume they will get jobs whatever the state of the economy.

The stressful oature of medical education for members of all ethnic groups was underlined last week by Dr. Gordon H. Deckert, chairmao of the department of psychiatry and behavioral sciences at Oklahoma Uni-

Dr. Deckert told the annual meeting

of the Association of American Medical Colleges that from 65 to 85 perceot of medical atudents seek some form of psychological counseling during their four years of study. This compares with estimates of 50 to 60 percent in nursing school, 30 to 40 per-

percent at the undergraduate level. Medical students feel they are confronted with a body of knowledge so vast as to defy mastery, yet they also worry that failure to learn may result in a patient's death.

cent in dental school and 15 to 20

Most, used to being near the top of their undergraduate classes, face unaccustomed and anxiety-producing competition for grades in medical school. They have money troubles. They feel that faculty members press them too hard at a time in their lives when they need emotional support. And they are stung by hostility from patients who resent the fact that some doctors earn high incomes.

Students Study Government

Over the last two years, schools that prepare students for government careers have experienced a 67 percent enrollment increase that educators attribute to a combination of student idealism and self-interest A record 22,000 men and women are now enrolled in such "public-policy" schools.

Alan K. Campbell, dean of the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University, says that despite widespread disenchantment with government, large oumbers of students still consider public employment the best way to improve American society.

Like many of his colleagues, Dean Campbell finds that students are also driven by a practical motive. They know that graduates of public-policy schools rarely lack for jobs. Stata and local governments are becoming increasingly interested in hiring them for such positions as policy analyst or tinance director.

So far, the Federal Government has shown less interest. That may change when Jimmy Carter takes office. The President-elect has promised to create 250 internships for public-policy graduates, who will be given two-year assignments with both political and career executives, .

N.J. Court Rules For Abortion

Yet another in a series of recent Federal and state court decisions reaffirming the right to abortion has been handed down in New Jersey. The State Supreme Court ruled last week that nonprofit, nonsectarian hospitals cannot refuse to provide abortion services.

Three hospitals had declined to permit elective abortions on the ground that community conscience opposed them. A lower court upheld the hospitals' prohibition. The State Supreme Court, however, found in its 6-to-1 opinion that "Moral concepts cannot be the basis of a consectarian, nonprofit eleemosynary hospital's regulations where that bospital is holding out the use of its facilities to the geoeral public."

The ruling could affect about 80 New Jersey hospitals and is likely to make hospitals in other states feel they are now more open to litigation. However, it is rare for hospitals in some states, among them Connecticut and New York, to ban abortion outright, although they may discourage the procedure in such indirect ways as charging high fees.

> Tom Ferrell and Virginia Adams

Headliners



Mr. Murdock's Entrance

The New York Post, the city's only afternoon daily, is going to be sold to Rupert Murdoch, who owns newspapers in Australia, the United States and England, Mr. Murdoch has a reputation for revitalizing failing publications by featuring scandal sex and crime. He runs an empire that iocludes 83 oewspapers and 11 magazines, among them Britain's largest circulation newspaper, News of the World, and in this country, The San Antonio (Tex.) Express and Evening News. Mr. Murdoch quickly raised circulation—and local anger-with his sensationalist approach in San Antonio. The Australian publisher said The New York Post "will maintain its present policies and traditions." Dorothy Schiff, present publisher, said she was confident that Mr. Murdoch "will carry on vigorously io the tradition I value so deeply." Mrs. Schiff has followed a generally liberal policy since she bought the paper in 1939.

Deportation Order

Phillip Agee, the former Central Intelligence Agency employee who wrote a book detailing some of the agency'a stratagems, and disclosed the names and location of some of its operatives, has been ordered to leave Britain. The deportation order accused Mr. Agee of threatening British security and of maintaining contacts with unidentified foreign agents. Mr. Agee speculated that pressure by the C.I.A., angered by his book and by articles published in a magazine he works for called Counter-Spy, was responsible for the deportation order. Earlier last week, Mark Hosenball, another American reporter, was ordered to leave for being a security risk, Mr. Hosenball works for a British paper, but he has written articles on intelligence activities for the magazine, Time Out.



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Don't Munichize

end hypocricy and cynicism!

The U.N. Security Council, under petrodollar influence, protested measures taken by Israel in occupied lands—warning against any "profanation of the holy places"—knowing full well that Israel zealously guards religious freedom for all.

The rationale for the universal gang-up on Israel is the piously-proclaimed "inadmissibility of reteotion of territories seized by force." What hypocrisy! Did any of the major powers surrender all seized territories even when the lands were so far removed as to be no threat to security? What about the U.S. and Japanese islands? Did Russia relinquish huge areas grabbed from Germany, Poland, Baltic States, Finland, China, Rumania? Did not Jordan reject the U.N.'s assignment in 1948 of much of present Israel-and instead chose war? Should aggressors institute war, lose it, and then receive the rewards of a victor? Should E. Jerusalem (where now democratic privileges are universal) be returned to Jordan who for 19 years harred even Israeli Arabs and destroyed everything

■ · Israel is justified, historically and morally. in retaining present borders: first, because the Arabs (even the so-called "moderates") aim to destroy Israel and refuse to negotiate peace; secondly, the 1967 horders gave Arabs' missiles dangerously close positions; thirdly, under Israeli Arabs enjoy a standard of living and democracy unknown in neighboring Arah countries.

■ Messrs. Ford, Kissinger, and Scranton should heed Sen. Eagleton's warning: "The moment we sell out a small courageous democracy in the name of profit . . . or oil, we contradict our own nation's reason for being." Pray that Pres. Carter will heed it!

Public presentation by S. Norman Gourse

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Demography

The Growth of Population Is Slowing Down

By LESTER R. BROWN

Sometime near the beginning of this decade, the rate of growth of world population peaked and began to slow. The primary reason for the reversal of a long-standing trend is that birth rates are falling impressively in nations with 40 percent of the world's population. A secondary, and more sobering reason, is a shortage of food that has led to rising death rates in the more densely populated, poorer countries. The coosequence of these trends, at once encouraging and ominous, is that the long-expected doubling over the next generation of the world's current population of four billion is oot likely to materialize.

How rapidly a nation's population grows, leaving aside migration, is determined by the number of births per thousand (the birth rate) and the number of deaths per thousand (the death rate). The difference between the birth rate and the death rate, converted to a percentage, yields the population growth rate for a country or a region. As an example, the birth rate for the Uoited States was 14.8 per thousand in 1975. The death rate was 9.0 per thousand. The difference of 5.8 per thousand, or a little more than one-half of one percent, was this country's population growth rate.

Slowing population growth has been concentrated in three geographic regions—Western Europe, North America, and East Asia. The growth rate fell by almost one-half in Western Europe, and by a third in both North America and East Asia. Western Europe, with 343 millioo people, cut its annual population growth from 0.56 percent in 1970 to 0.32 in 1975—a remarkable reduction for a large area. North America and East Asia had populations of 236 million and 1,005 million, respectively, in 1975. The one-third decrease in North America's growth rate (excluding immigration) from 0.90 percent to 0.60 perceot during the five-year span is continuing in 1976.

Within Western Europe, population growth has come to a halt in four countries-East Germany, West Germany, Lux-

embourg and Austria. Each now has a stable or declining population. East Germany brought its births and deaths in line in 1969. In West Germany, births and deaths came into balance in 1972. The national birth rate of just under 10 per thousand in 1975 may be the lowest oo record. The populations of two smaller countries, Austria and Luxembourg, also ceased growing during the seventies.

If recent trends continue, the United Kingdom and Belgium will also achieve population equilibrium sometime in 1976, bringing the total of such countries to six. Several other European countries have birth rates below 15 and failing, approaching a balance with death rates: France, Italy, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands and Switzerland. The United States, one of the world's four most populous countries, has also pulled its birth rate down below 15. Virtually all of the remaining industrial nations, all the countries of Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and Canada, have birth rates between

These failing birth rates reflect both a desire for smaller families and the wideoing availability of family planning services, including both contraception and abortion. Although all of the heavily used contraceptives, including the pill, intrauterine device, and condom, had existed before 1970, significant shifts in their relative importance have occurred. Use of the pill, spurred both by publicly supported clinics and commercial distributors, has increased on every

While contraceptive use patterns changed, abortion laws were liberalized. At the beginning of 1971, 38 percent of the world's people lived in countries where legal abortions were easy to obtain. By early 1976, this figure stood at 64 per-

cent, oearly two-thirds of the world.

The decline by one-third in the United States population growth rate (excludiog migratioo) between 1970 and 1975 was not widely anticipated and challenges accepted demographic notions. The expected upturn in birth rates during the 1970's, when the children of the postwar baby boom en-

tered their prime reproductive years, has not materialized. The most impressive decline in birth rates over the last four years bas come in China. The Chinese birth rate fell from an estimated 32 to 19, or 2.6 points per year, probably

Based on projected annual growth rate of

1.9% in 1970, 1.64% in 1975

the most rapid national decline ever recorded. This pronounced fall-off should come as no surprise: the comprehensive Chinese effort focuses out only upon providing family planning services, including abortion, but also upon reshaping economic and social policies to encourage small families and upon an intensive public education campaign extolling the benefits of smaller families. The achievement is all the more noteworthy given China's relatively low average income per person. Apparently, meeting basic social and family planning needs can drive down the birth rate even where income levels are not high,

The importance of bringing down birth rates rapidly is gaining widespread attention elsewhere. In India economic planners have impressed on the political leadership the virtual impossibility of raising living levels if population growth continues anabated. India was one of the first countries to recognize the population problem officially, but its success in implementing effective family planning programs has been limited. As a result the Government finds itself sanctioning, as a last resort, the use of compulsory sterilization. In Mexico, plagued by unemployment, the Government has abandoned its traditional pro-natalist stance and thrown itself into a massive national family plenning effort. In Indonesia, Colombia, and Thailand birth rates have begun to decline as oew, effective family planning programs take

The decline in birth rates in the industrialized world and



1970 and 1975 projection

Western European Population

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in China is a hopeful sign. It shows that on

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growth. Unfortunately, far too many com

high birth rates. The question facing the

drop because birth rates fall or because

Lester R. Brown is president of Worldon

Population Trends: Signs of Hope, Signs of Sh

Washington, and author of Worldwatch

sporadic rises to death rates?

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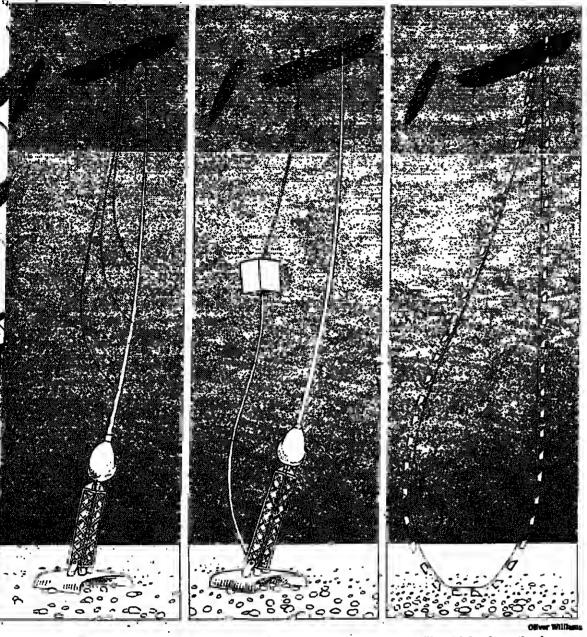
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SPEAK



Three methods now considered technically possible for mining metallic nodules from the deep sea floor are: at left, air-lift pumping, in which a sweeping device dragged along the sea bottom is provided with suction by compressed air pumped from the surface through hoses; the hydrolift system (center), in which suction for the sweeper comes from sea water forced upwards by a pump which itself may be suspended at an intermediate depth; and the continuous bucket system (right), in which a belt of cupity buckets, trailed cehind a moving ship, is dragged across the bottom until filled, then raised in a more or less straight line to the mining ship.

ea Mining: Difficult, but Not Impossible

By WALTER SULLIVAN

the floor of the Pacific Ocean lion tons of metallic nodules, ing the deeper regions with what ike misshapen black potatoes. the manner of their formation proversial, there is no doubt -flieir composition. They are rich fecritical metals as cobalt, copanganese and nickel, offering to il-hungry world a vast reserve

like the proverbial apple of conent, they continue to lie just bereach. The reasons are chiefly although bringing the nodthe surface and extracting their will be a major technological

eptember the Law of the Sea ence at the United Nations adi until next May with no agreen sight as to who will control p sea floor and the exploitation esources. Until this is resolved until the United States Govern-

ment, insures the exploiters against loss frem adverse provisions of a future treaty—corporations are unlikely to invest the hundreds of millions of dellars required for such an enterprise.

While nodules bave been found on the floor of Lake Michigan, they occur primarily in salt water at ocean depths of two and three miles. The riches: known deposits lie in a narrow zone extending from the central Pacific, Mexico. It lies just north of the equatorial zone of intense biological activity -and bence of rapid sediment deposi-

Such deposition would tend to bury nodules before they could be mined. Some scientists believe they are formed by bacteria that extract and deposit the metals dissolved in seawater. It has been estimated that ten million tons of nodules are produced annually, providing a renewable re-

Manganese is the primary constituent of the nodules but the metal of chief economic interest is nickel, of

FINE & APPLIED ARTS

which the United States currently imports more than 90 percent of its recuirements. Furthermore, almost 20 percent of the country's copper comes

Three primary approaches are being pursued to meet the coallenge of raising the nodules from the depths at which they lie. They are: air-lift pumping, hydrollft and the continuous line bucket system.

In air-lift pumping a suction device linked by pipeline to the mining ship is dragged along the bottom. Compressed air injected into the pipe at various levels creates an upward flow tha: "vacuums" the nodules off the bottom. A rake or screen prevents nodules large enough to clog the pipe from

In a recently published analysis by the Congressional Research Service for the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs this method is evaluated as the most complex.

It is sald to be less adaptable than other systems since the locations of air injection and other features must be adjusted for varying ocean depths. An advantage is the lack of any need for operating pumps deep under water.

The hydrolift method, the second under consideration, pumps water to create an upward flow through the pipe. The pumps can either be on the bottom or at intermediate depth. The congressional study notes that the technology for this system is well established having long been used in the coal industry and in pumping the "mud" used in oil drilling.

The continuous line bucket method uses a braided rope to which dredging buckets are attached at intervals of about 100 feet. As the ship moves slowly over the deposit the line of buckets sinks until it reaches the bottom, then is dragged along the bottom and hoisted up again. Because of the ship's forward motion the descending line of buckets loops far out astern. On the other hand, the line of rising buckets en route to the surface would hang straight down, well clear of the descending buckets.

The relative effectiveness of these systems is not public knowledge. Among the determining criteria will be production rate, the extent to which unwanted sediment is brought up, and efficiency in sweeping closely spaced tracks without overlap. The bucket system must avoid snagging on bottom features. Suction systems must be dragged along the bottom in such a manner that, when the sea floor suddenly descends to greater depth, they do not lift off the bottom.

Research has been under way in various laboratories on ways to extract the valuable metals from the nodules. Methods used in refining ores from mines on land are inapplicable. Research bas also been under way by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration on the environmental effects of deep sea mining.

Fears have been expressed that waste material, including bottom sediment, dumped from the ship or from buckets on route to the surface would blanket bottom life. However, the deep sea floor is only thinly inhabited and it has been tentatively concluded that the environmental effect would be localized.

For more than a decade a number of large industrial enterprises have been working on the technology needed to retrieve the nodules and extract their metals. A numbe: of American companies, including Atlantic-Richfield, Kennecott Copper, Lockheed, Phelps-Dodge, Tenneco and United States Steel are involved.

In virtually all cases they are participating in international consortiums whose goal is to perfect the methods. In some cases, once large-scale mining begins individual companies, or new consortiums, will probably do the

The testing of small-scale systems is believed largely complete, but the Investment needed to inaugurate fullscale mining will probably not be made until the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea determines the ground rules for such efforts. The cost of a full system, with ships, miolag equipment and metal extraction facilities, has been estimated at from \$300 to \$500 million.

One consortium has laid claim to a rich nodule deposit on the Pacific floor southeast of Hawaii, but the claim is not recognized by the Department of State. It was made in 1974 by Deep Sea Ventures, a consortium in which Tenneco was the chief stockholder.

An effort has been made in Congress to provide at least a partial federal guarantee of the large investments necessary but this has been opposed on the ground that such a burden on the taxpayer for corporate profit was unwarranted.

Wolter Sullivan writes about science for The New York Times.

Where We Stand by Albert Shanker President. United Federation of Teachers

New York Negotiations in 'Wartime'

AOVERTISEMENT

Unless City Survives Bargaining Won't

ast week newspapers across the country printed storics on a statement which L I made dealing with contract negotiations in New York City under the present emergency. The best of these reports were accurate as far as they went, but they gave little detait. The overwhelming majority of the accounts printed nutside of New York City itself were completely erroneous. They reported my saying-at a seminar in the city-that public employee collective bargaining should end because government agencies everywhere are having financial problcms. Now, anyone who can believe I would say that can believe just about

Like many other union leaders, I have devoted my life to advancing the cause of collective bargaining. Unlike other workers, teachers did not accept the idea of collective bargaining until very recently, and some do not accept it yet. For years I went from school to school in New York City, and to hundreds of districts all across the United States, to convince teachers that they, too. deserve and should demand the right to bargain collectively. More often than not, over these years, the strongest opposition I faced was not from school boards or administrators, but from the National Education Association and its affiliates, which came to recogoize the merits of bargaining only much later.

Timing of New Contract Talks at Issue

Of course, my remarks last week did not advocate an end to collective bargaining. But I did call for a significant change in the timing of negotiations in New York City.

First: I was talking about New York City and only New York City, Many government agencies throughout the country still have relatively easy access to more money if they want it. Others have financial squeezes and difficulties but there is still some room. No other city or school district faces New York City's problems. That is the reason our crisis has been front page headlines all over the world for more than a year.

Second: Public employee negotiating, as we have known it in New York City and as it is practiced elsewhere, is currently in shambles in New York because it is restricted and modified by state law, applying only to our city, which freezes certain benefits, forces drastic annual budget cutbacks and establishes a Control Board that exercises vast powers. In addition, because of the federal loans required to avert default by New York, the city, in effect, has federal

Third: The limited public employee contract talks that have taken place have been painful. They bave been time-consuming, frequently bitter, Salary adjustments have been small and always accompanied by outbacks in working

I suggested some changes.

Tripartite Board Could Rule on Inequities

I don't like "boards" after the experience with the Nixon Wage-Price Board talthough the experience with the War Labor Board seems to have been quite different). But the fact is that we already have a board-the Emergency Financial Control Board. If we are to live with a board, it should be one which specializes in labor concerns. It should not be representative exclusively of management, government and business, as is the EFCB. It should be tripartite, with represeniatives of labor and government and "neutrals" acceptable to both,

Such a board could help to maintain fair treatment for each group of employees and deal with any inequities.

Existing contracts would be continued and extended in this extraordinary period. Since the current "emergency" provisions last only until 1978 that would be the outside limit on the new procedure.

The greatest benefit to everyone is that this temporary postponement of new negotiations would leave unions, the city, the agencies free to devote all of their time and energies to the one thing that matters most; getting help lu save New York City, a city under siege, a city engaged in a war for survival.

We Must Restore Self-Government to City

Perhaps the "war" analogy is a bit strong, but it is not far off. In time of war, everything becomes secondary to winning the war. Because if the war is lost, all citizens may lose needed services, businessmen may lose property and wealth, labor may lose contract rights and the very ability to bargain. New York -City employees have already lost many of their bargaining rights because the city-their employer-has lost much of its self-governance. The way to restore collective bargaining is to restore self-government. We must bring about the conditions which will end the need for a "control" board.

In war we deal with matters of life and death. If the terms "life" and "death" are too strong to use in the current situation, we can all agree that continued suffering and enormous hardship lie ahead unless the city gets help.

It is because I want to restore public employee collective bargaining that I believe it is wiser that we stop haggling over new and very meager benefits now, that we continue working under our contracts, that we devote all our efforts to saving our city. Unless the city is saved, collective bargaining has no

Mr. Shanker's convents appear to this section every Sunday. Render correspondence is invited. Address your letters to Mr. Shanker at UFT. This column is sponsored as paid advertising by the United Federation of Teachers, Local 2, American Enderation of Yeachers, AFL-C10, 260 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 19010. © 1976 by Athert Shanker

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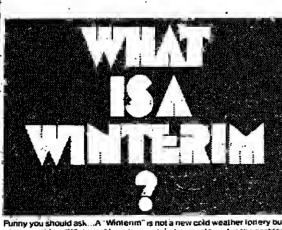
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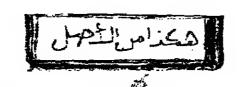
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Requirements: Bachelor's degree from an accredited college, supplemented by a Master's degree in mi-crobiology, with five years of professional supervisory experience in a large well-equipped bacteriology laboratory. A Doctorate in microbiology may be substituted for three years of above experience.

NEW JERSEY STATE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

DIRECTOR, CLINICAL LABORATORY PROGRAM-

Requirements: M.D. or Ph.D., preterably Board certified, or eligible, in clinical chemistry, with five years of full-time, supervisory professional experience in one or more specialties in a public health, hospital or independent

Duties: Plans, develops, organizes, coordinates and dir-

Duties: Responsible for directing all activities of the Bacteriology Laboratories, including T.B., G.C., P.K.U., Enteric, Rabies, Sanitary and General Bacteriology.

SENIOR PUBLIC HEALTH PHYSICIAN-

Requirements: Graduation from a class A Medical School supplemented by the satisfactory completion of a one year internship, licensure or eligibility for licensure as a physician in N.J.

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Requirements: Doctorate level with knowledge and ex-penence in data processing and epidemiology, prelerably cancer a pidamiology.

Duties: Provide day-to-day management of Cancer Registry Project. Provide leadership in development of registry and maintain its functioning after development. Once registry is functioning, become involved in epidemiologic studies of cancer.

RESEARCH SCIENTIST, III---

Requirements: Master leval with knowledge and experience in data processing, including sufficient knowledge of computer programming to work effectively with programmers. Some knowledge and experience in epidemiology, preferable cancer epidemiology, is essentiated.

Outies: Under the direction of a Rasearch Scientist, I, provide technical competence necessary to develop and maintain a cancer registry.

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'Faith and Credit'

The unexpected decision of New York State's highest court invalidating the moratorium on \$1 billion or more of this city's short-term notes dramatically underlinesand in a startling way-what has been apparent all

Despite the enormous progress New York has made during the past year or more in working its way out of its financial difficulties, the crisis is a cootinuing one, has by no means been finally solved, and will require still greater efforts on the part of the city and greater help from the Federal Government for its solution.

Yet there is every reason to believe that the situation -so far from being bopeless-is entirely solvable without recourse to bankruptcy, but with the application of additional doses of patience, ingenuity and cooperation at all levels of government and within the private sector

The five-to-one decision of the Court of Appeals, written in sharp and sometimes caustic language by the highly respected Chief Judge Charles D. Breitel, requires the city to honor its obligation to to its short-term note holders whose payments had been suspended by the moratorium. But at the same time, as the court wisely

"It would serve oeither plaintiff nor the people of the City of New York to precipitately evoke instant judicial remedies which might give the city no choice except to proceed into hankruptcy. The strenuous and valiant efforts by the city and state administrations with the aid of the national Government should be given as much leeway as constitutional decency permits."

In other words, there is time-just how much is uncertain, but certainly enough—to work out a means of meeting the obligations to its oote holders that the court has sternly thrust back on the shoulders of the city. The reaffirmation that the pledge of "faith and credit" is constitutionally protected even under conditions of extreme adversity is a healthy if tough lesson in public morality; but it is no cause for panic. It may in fact serve the very practical purpose of forcing all of us who are concerned with the survival of New Yorkand, by extension, of all other major cities in this country-to come to grips once again with the realities of the

urban crisis. And it should surely in the long run strengthen public confidence in the sanctity of contracts entered into by instrumentalities of government.

So far as New York City is concerned, the first and most immediate problem raised by the decision is whether it will affect the continued discretionary loan payments by the Federal Government conditioned on the likelihood of repayment. The next such payment, in the amount of \$200 million, is scheduled for Dec. 3. Another of \$500 million is due later that month. These loans are absolutely essential to meet the city's immediate cash

Given the spirit of cooperation that has been increasingly evinced in Washington and the extraordinary (and successful) efforts of the city itself to pare its own budget, it is most improbable that at this juncture the Treasury would suddenly call off its scheduled assistance program. But the Breitel decision does make it vital that a new plan be worked out within the very near future that will enable this municipality to meet the court's imperative.

The possibilities run all the way from assistance from the Federal Reserve to backing from the Carter Administration and from Congress for Federal guarantees for municipal bonds.

The problem, serious as it is, can be worked in the spirit of one of the principal figures in the past year's negotiations, who commented yesterday: "Everybody seems anxious to hold this thing together. It's like the Battle of Britain-we came through it before and we'll do it again." Only this time, New York is in a different position from a year ago: it has a record of sacrifice and accomplishment that both outgoing and incoming administrations have begun to appreciate and recognize.

And Congress and the country are aware, more acutely than a year ago, that New York's problem is inextricably linked to-if larger than-the problem of virtually every other major municipality in the country.

The urban problem is, essentially, a national problem: and it will require thoughtful, dispassionate Federal help for its solution.

Good Start in Italy

test in Parliament for its economic austerity program because the powerful Communist Party abstained instead of voting "no." Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti had nailed down that imperative abstectioo prior to the formal debate in a three-hour discussion with the Communist leaders and a talk with the Communist head of Italy's largest trade union confederation.

It is far from unprecedented for a Christian Democratic Prime Minister to discuss major moves in advance with the Communists; but the consultation has become more necessary and more extensive sioce the Communists won 34 percent of the vote in the June election, only four points behind the party that has headed every Italian Government since 1945.

Confronted by 20 percent inflation, a foreign debt of:\$17 billion, soaring imports, a sbaky lira and dangerously depleted currency reserves, Mr. Andreotti had no alternative to imposing austerity measures on a country not noted for fiscal or industrial discipline. Without such actions, Italy would have difficulty obtaining even the \$530 million credit it seeks from the International Monetary Fund, let alone the much larger loans it hopes to get from the United States and the European Community to ease the pressure on its balance of

Mr. Aodreotti's package includes higher taxes, enforce-

ment of advance tax payments, cuts in public spending substantial rises in electricity charges, telephone tolls and gasoline prices, and a start on modifying inflationary wage boosts. Additional measures will be required by Italy's creditors at some stage; but the Prime Minister has maneuvered with courage and skill to get this first round accepted by Parliament, even if abstainers outnumbered supporters.

No ooe knows how long Communist leader Enrico Berlinguer can hold his parliamentary ranks in line for abstention and his union followers for wage restraint. Though there have been few defections, the policy has created uneasiness among party workers and was sharply challenged last month by the party's patriarch, Luigi Longo. Mr. Berlinguer often finds it necessary to warn the Government against taking Communist cooperation for granted and he continues to press his proposal for a summit meeting of all parties, except the neo-Fascists, to deal with the economic crisis.

Meanwhile, Mr. Andreotti obviously intends to take maximum advantage of Communist abstentions to make a long-overdue start on economic recovery. He will come to Washington next month to seek help in that effort, probably in a meeting with President-elect Carter as well as President Ford. On his performance thus far, the Prime Minister deserves a sympathetic hearing.

Planes in Beirut

The first civil airliners since last June landed at Beirut iarport this wekend. Both symbolically and practically the landings represented the nearest approach to normal conditions that the tortured city has seen in a long time.

For Lebanon as a whole, the Syrian occupation-now nearly complete-seems to bave effectively stopped the civil war, at least for the time being. The Palestinians, the Christians and the other factions among the Lebanese inhabitants still nurture their hatreds and mutual suspicions, but all have surrendered to the corporate decislon of the most influential Arab nations-particularly Saudi Arabia-that the fighting must stop and that the Syrians must be trusted as relatively neutral troops who at the least can end the killing.

But each day of comparative quiet in the new Lebanon makes more urgent the larger question of peace and the future in the Middle East. Will the Syrians try to destroy the belt of friendly Christian-dominated territory the Israelis have helped set up in southern Lebanon near their border? Will the Palestinians resume raids against Israel from Lebanon, and if so bow will Jerusalem respond? Do the Syrians intend to annex Lebanon or is their occupation just a genuioe short-term expedient that Lebanese President Sarkis can end by ordering Syrian troops out of his country when he deems condi-

Merely to ask these questions is to underline how much remains undetermined in Lebanon and in the wider Arab-Israeli confrontation. But at least the restoration of a precarious peace in Lebanon is a reminder that constant killings among different religions and ideologies are not necessarily an inevitable feature of life in the Middle East, that most sensitive area of this planet.

The Wind Tides

Autumn ebbs away into winter, but there is flow rather than ebb in the unseen wind tides that now lap at the hills and send invisible breakers to hiss softly in the upper woodlands. They are the tides that curl about this earth, forever restless and eternally moving, tides that ohey some subtler master than the moon.

Night is the time to hear these tides, a night when the stars are dimmed by scud that could easily be the spray of wind waves crowding swiftly one upon the next. You sit beside the open fire and hear the tides sucking at the chimney, hear the swish of their unseen waves breaking against the corner of the house, feel the quiver of panes shaken by the breakers.

You listen and you hear the rise and fall of the wind waves, the rusb of one after another in crescendo until the peak has struck its hattering blow. Then there is a pause, a gathering of new force, and again that succession of waves building once more to climactic height

and falling away into darkness. Occasionally you can see, or seem to see, the windtides, breaker-white, at dawn and at dusk. They go rippling through a pasture lot and across an open knoll with its tall, golden-ripe grass. They swish through the underbrush at the edge of the woodland with the sibilant sound of cove water being crowded up an inlet. They bow the naked maple tips with the murmuriog hiss of moontides on rocky reefs.

Letters to the Editor

Toward a Presidential Amnesty Board

President-elect Carter has promised a blanket pardon to all who evaded the draft during the Vietnam War. I fear that a blanket pardon would not be in the best interests of the nation and may lead to serious consequences for the future. No blanket amnesty or pardon has ever been granted by the United States in the aftermath of any

A far better precedent was the one followed by President Truman, who appointed an Amoesty Board in 1946 to recommend Presidential clemency for World War II draft evaders and named retired Associate Justice Owen Roberts of the Supreme Court as chairman. Also named were Willis Smith, president of the American Bar Association, and James F. O'Neil, special assistant to the Secretary of the Navy during World War IL

Justice Roberts favored blanket amnesty, but after going over a few cases he agreed to review all on an individual basis. When he presented the board's report to President Truman,

Of Oil and Hypocrisy

To the Editor:

The resistance to the anticipated iocreases for OPEC oil by the West is absurd and hypocritical. And the veiled threats of some kind of retaliation are outrageous.

Americao private industry bas never made any price reductions of the slightest consequence to make Western products more accessible to the average consumer in Africa or Asia, including the oil societies of the Middle East and Venezuela. There is one trivial, ridiculous exception: American textbook publishers reduce prices about 5 percent by way of a looger discount and a reduction in authors' royalties by 50 percent, but the book still costs the equivalent of more than one mooth's total income in many third-world societies.

And United States distribution of food to the hungry of the third world has oot been in the form of gifts. It has been in terms of loans with severe restricting conditions. Other Western societies have been consistently more generous with free food for the bungry than has the United States.

In the long run, increased OPEC oil

Conservation Price Tag

The item in your edition of Nov. 9

about the discovery of furbish louse-

worts on the site of a proposed hydro-

electric project brings to miod the

question as to who among us is willing

Federal and state environmental

statutes. If, as your news item sug-

this endangered flower causes the dam

to be canceled, it will presumably be

necessary to generate the needed elec-

tricity hy the more expensive method

of burning imported oil. This would

cause a small but permanent increase

added cost would be fully justified in

the interest of preserving a valuable

ecological feature of the remote wilds

of northern Maine. But a much larger

group of people has clearly expressed

its unwillingness to have any part in

paying for such ecological improve-

ments. I refer to all those employees

who have insisted through their bar-

gaining representatives on the protec-

tion of cost-of-living adjustment

(COLA) clauses in their work con-

One means of assuring that the

economic burden of protecting our en-

vironment falls more evenly on all sec-

tors of our society would be to ex-

clude from cost-of-living calculations

all those cost increments that can be

attributed to improving our quality of

life. To make this procedure more

palatable to the average worker I

suggest that in lieu of the next cost-

of-living adjustment a pressed speci-

men of a furbish lousewort be included

Schenectady, N.Y., Nov. 15, 1976

Lebanon's unfolding tragedy reaches

a climax as Soviet-made Syrian tanks

enforce the "peace." Another small

democratic nation, unique in the vast

Arab world, loses its independence.

Similar losses come to mind: Spain

after its civil war and Czechnslovakia,

Though historic events are never

duplicated, their implications must be

examined. It was the Riyadh confer-

ence of Arab kings and presidents

victims of external intervention.

HENRY HURWITZ JR.

in each pay envelope.

Lebanon's Loss

To the Editor:

Some people no doubt feel that the

in the cost of living.

Justice Roberts said he "never realized

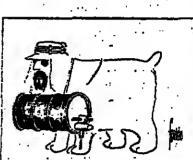
how many were not entitled to amnesty. The review took a year and covered 15,805 cases. The board recommended executive clemency for only 1,523. President Truman pardoned another

1,518 because they served a year or

Theere has been a change in the political climate, which now supports forgiveness for those who deserve consideration. A great number of those who evaded the draft, as was the case after World War II. do not deserve clemency, and to grant blanket pardoos to all would he unfair to those who were motivated by the demands of conscience. It would be more than unfair to those who served.

This unfairness could be avoided by President-elect Carter if he appointed : his own amnesty board when he takes office, modifying his plan for blanket

Lieut, Col., U.S.A.R., Retired



prices could constitute a nonvioleot gradual device to reduce the obscene inconities in the standards of living that oow exist. These inequities are direct functions of the rip-off pracagainst the third-world peoples.

raise the standard of living of the third sistence, Higher OPEC oil prices could lead to a very useful form of forced busing if the price of gasoline becomes prohibitive for the Western auto-CY GREEN mobile owner.

tices of the West applied for centuries The standard of living of the West must be severely reduced in order to world merely to a dignified sub-

Whitman, Mass., Nov. 15, 1976 which ratified the takeover of Lebanon. While the U.N. and democratic governmeots ignored the internecine slaughter, amhitious powers manipulated Lebanon's factions with massive arms

to pay for the improvements io our quality of life mandated hy new of Assad's "Greater Syria." JOSEPH BRANDES Professor of History gests may happen, the discovery of William Paterson College of New Jersey

Wayne, N.J., Nov. 15, 1976

shipments and propaganda. Now it is

questionable whether Lebanese or

Palestinians will enjoy self-determina-

tion as Lebanon becomes a dependency

All-American Election

To the Editor:

The maps showing the geographical distribution of electoral votes, and the news stories, editorials and columns commenting on the distribution, almost uniformly create the impression that the Presidential vote reflects two ereas of significantly different political predilections, one of which is Ford country, the other Carterland, I think this is wrong, a misreading and a harmful distortion of our political attitudes, not supported by the detailed data now available.

The fact seems to be that the differences in many of the larger swing areas and states were so slight that any or most of them could have been in the opposite column if the whims of chance had been a little different. Illinois, for example, would likely have gone for Carter had Thompson been less strong and Howlett less weak. Perhaps the same is true for California, where Tunney succumbed to Hayakawa. The weather, the size of the turnout and local quiddities would have sufficed to change the results in Ohio, Hawaii, Iowa, Maine, Mississippi, New Jersey. New Mexico. Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota. Virginia and

The conclusion that should more properly be drawn is that of the essential bomogeneity of the electorate on a totally nationwide basis. The map could almost as easily bave looked like a checkerboard instead of simple or simplistic East vs. West proprietary

areas. The election so viewed should be more consistent with national har-mony and unity. I believe this to be the sounder and healthier view, fully justified by the returns.

JONATHAN B. RINTELS New York, Nov. S, 1976



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more in the armed services and received an honorable discharge. jected to enormo from the press, of State who h "expertise" in fo lem is that the to define such experience in f

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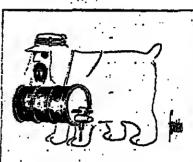
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SMNEY D. PALEY

Brooklyn, Nov. 15, 1976



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To the Editor: Now that Heru to be out of a jo place for him. H be the Secretary ! . Nations? The Ur among other this eoergetic leaders singer's detractor he has that.

The New An To the Editor:

Your glowing Lhevinne, which deserved, re-emph must recur to ma obituaries of in foreign , birth . wb whose parents of open society of rather than cope erated by wars or turmoil abroad. United States do r stein or a Thoma Rosina Lhevinne l level of our socie

Lawyers, gover tors, Congressmen public at large në reminded of this a nisty-gritty of the Against the pressi business or oth group it is necess carefully closing penniless immigrar might become the century and to ti who can make les cant contributions

A Quince Grov To the Editor: Yesterday, to m

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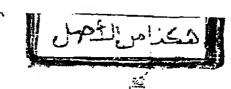
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Mr. Carter At the Crossroad

By Tom Wicker

we menths before he takes the of office as President, Jimmy ter already is face to face with one he major questions that will deterthe course of his Administration he seek at the outset to gain the idence of the business and financommunity, or will he risk their wor by moving rapidly and perradically to attack the economic social ills he campaigned against? ne available evidence is that Mr. er so far is opting for Wall Street's idence. He and Chairman Arthur is of the Federal Reserve Board, example, are staging an Alphonse-Gaston act in promising to coate with one another, although surns keeps inveighing against the of for a stimulative tax cut.

sked at his second post-election seed at his second post-election had a coefficient of the nation had a be prepared to accept 5 to 7 eat unemployment for most of the suntil 1980. Mr. Carter replied ould guess that is a likely prosent distance that the present 79 ent unemployment rate cannot be ced overnight to the 4 to 4.5 perset of this and other questions on subject suggests caution rather swift and innovative action.

ambton Jordan, Mr. Carter's forcampaign manager and new talent er, told Washington reporters, nover, that the President-elect ted to appoint a Treasury Secre-

IN THE NATION

ho is going to rbalize' the ncerns of the

who would be a "bridge" to the sorate and financial worlds—some "who can verbalize the concerns he financial community and anticite the financial community's reaction economic decisions he might

The trouble with that is that the ancial community has never lacked ople to "verbalize" its concerns; all ministrations of both parties are says full of such people; and with without them, anyone of moderate ligence and decent memory can Ms. Carter what the financial "unity's reaction will be to his mic decisions.

i financial community, that is, is against such decisions if they had primarily at relieving uniquent and the tax burden on or, while raising taxes on busing the wealthy; and it will be for of his policies if they put onary fears first and protect is from higher taxation and—ment intervention.

who is going to "verbalize" the us of the poor and the disaged and the unemployed in the Administration? That question squarely to the President-elect Newsweek article by Vernon executive director of the League.

black claim on Carter," Mr. wrote, "is not the traditional I claim for government jobs, in there is every indication that is Administration will feature in high offices. Rather, it is a claim for policies that would the tragic decline of black tandards. Please note that acks want is what poor whites d what the country as a whole o restore its sense of vision pose."

une point was made even more

illy by Eddie N. Williams, t of the Joint Center for Studies, a black research At the University of Missouri after the election in which fid so much to put Jimmy 17 office, Mr. Williams said: opportunities will confront Administration — the oppor-· open up the lily-white world / formulation and to assure ... ks have an equal chance to pe the nation's policies and - A Cabinet post and a stistant or two will not sufneed now is to integrate the iking process - to conquer ler frontier of segregation. : has a unique opportunity to at blacks become full partthe nation's policy-making . This would not only be fair ald broaden the pool of talent get the job done. More imthe broad inclusion of

t, thoughtful black leaders lemanding a mere political black votes; they are asking at Mr. Carter's Administrap to the economic and social lat drew blacks so heavily for in the campaign. Wheth-sident-elect can do that and the approval of the finantisiness community is doubtfor, as another article will concmics and business as it be good enough to meet

. xuld provide a much-needed

perspective in the early stages

. I policy formulation, rather

r policies have been locked

and the only alternative is

Vietnam: A Reply to the U.S.Veto

Following are excerpts from remarks by Dinh Ba Thi, Vietnam's permanent observer at the United Nations, at a meeting of the Security Council on Monday.

By Dinh Ba Thi

The pretext used by the American Government this time to veto the admission of Vietnam [to the United Nations] is an allegation by that Government that the Vietnamese side has not provided a complete list of Americans missing in the Vietnam war and, consequently, is not devoted to the cause of peace and humanitarianism-indispensable qualifications for membership of the United Nations.

First of all, we believe that it must be stressed that the problem of Americans missing during the war in Vietnam, like the negotiations which are taking place in Paris between Vietnam and the United States, is part of the blatteral relations between the two countries and has absolutely nothing to do with Article 4 of the Charter.

The American Government, using various pretexts according to the circumstances and its needs of the moment—their opposition to so-called "selective universality," the problem of missing Americans, the results of negotiations at Paris, and so forth—is continuing its policy of obstruction with regard to the admission of Vietnam to membership.

By mentioning the problem of the missing Americans and considering that as a humanitarian problem, all the while using terms that are insulting to the Vietnamese people in response to gestures of good will on the Vietnamese side, the Ford Administration has tried to strike a sensitive chord in world public opinion for political purposes that are very well known. In reality, that Administration has not shown any good will with regard to the settlement of the problem of Americans listed as missing.

All those who prize justice and peace, including a large segment of the American population, will surely not forget the crimes of aggression and genocide committed by the imperialist aggressors against our people, crimes which shocked the conscience of all mankind during the war of aggression.

In keeping with humanitarian considerations, we should like to [ask] the American leaders if they were at all troubled in their consciences regarding the tens of thousands of Vietnamese families which suffered because their children, two years after the end of the war, are still listed as missing? How do they feel about the hundreds of Vietnamese who continue to be killed by mines and unexploded devices left?

How do they feel about the hundreds of thousands of prostitutes and orphans and the millions of unem-



effort to normalize relations.

Whereas the American Government has left no stone unturned in its attempts to delay any response to our constructive proposals, the Vietnamese Government has demonstrated its good will by giving the American side the lists and remains of those soldiers killed in the war in Vietnam whom we were able to identify. A special committee of experts from various competent services of Vietnam are still hard at work in an effort to seek out and identify missing Americans.

While talks are continuing between the two parties in Paris on the settlement of the problems concerning the two sides, including the problem of Americans missing in the war in Vietnam, and while there are encouraging signs that it may be possible to begin business-like negotiations, the opposition of the American veto to our candidacy only proves one thing: that the policy of the Ford-Kissinger Administration is based more on rancor and vengeance than on a serious desire to settle the problem of missing

A Smaller Bang for a Buck

By C. L. Sulzberger

VARAVILLE, France—In the nasty simplified cold war days which nobody in his right mind hearkens back to, advocates of a strategy of all-out nuclear response to even the slightest aggression argued that this could be a less expensive as well as more deadly means of defending the West because it was based on "a bigger bang for a buck." This meant more calculable megadeaths for each military budget dollar spent.

But now the NATO alliance, whose leaders are about to hold their annual review next month, has discovered to its horror some billions that should be invested in more effective defense are being wasted by ridiculous rivalry and duplication of effort among partners who are politically too weak or nationalistically too zealous to end this folly.

The former chairman of NATO's military committee, West German General Johannes Steinhoff, argues:

"As an alliance of sovereign countries competing with each other economically, NATO reflects the economic, industrial and political situation in each member country, and this in turn has repercussions in the great variety of projects and weapons. This state of affairs has helped to make NATO look today like an army museum."

The trouble is that this very state of affairs is rendered worse by a resurgent economic recession. Each country obviously prefers to keep alliance costs down but also favors economic nationalism so that each country can, whenever possible, manufacture and sell to non-NATO markets weapons systems theoretically designed for its own and the coalition's defense. The U.S.A. is the worst offender in this respect but West Germany, France and even Britain and Italy follow their

Dr. Gardiner Tucker, recently NATO's Assistant Secretary General for Defense Support, has prepared a study on this drab subject for the Atlantic Institute for International Affairs, whose board of governors is meeting here. The background to his analysis may be seen in another observation by Steinhoff:

"We are witnessing at present a fascinating technological race between the West and the Soviet Union, Mainly because of the waste of our research and development resources we bave allowed the Soviet Union step by step to reduce the gap which was traditionally in favor of the West. We give NATO the huge sum of \$20 billion a year for research and development, but up to half of the projects are parallel projects that involve unnecessary duplication, or even triplication or quadruplication."

Tucker points out that in 1973 the alliance had 31 different types of antitank weapons, whereas military analysis considered "five was probably the optimum number." A further

18 were then being developed.

The ACE mobile force containing units from seven allied nations and totalling 5,000 men, has seven different types of aircraft, six types of recoilless rifles, its own logistical personnel and support, plus so many other mixtures of arms that its commander estimates today it would take just twice as long to deploy for action than it would were its composition

Differing types (according to each nation) of fuel, ammunition, arms and supplies make it sometimes difficult, sometimes impossible to resupply aircraft away from their regular bases. There isn't even a NATO standard nozzle for pumping gas into fighters. NATO's ships have 36 kinds of radar for fire control and 40 kinds of large-

standardized.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Billions that should be invested in more effective defense are being wasted by ridiculous rivalry...

caliber gun, therefore requiring manufacture and distribution of 40 kinds of shell.

According to Tucker, the resulting lack of military coberence and inefficiency stems from the fact that allied rivals for foreign sales (which help ease national unemployment) "have tended to protect their defense industries and to procure their own designs from their own factories."

The roster of wastage is as endless as it is needless. Seven allies are planning six different tactical communications systems for their forces within the next five years, but no two of these can communicate directly with each other, nor can any communicate directly with the NATO integrated communication system.

Tucker rightly insists: "All NATO forces must be interoperable. In particular, this must be true of North American and European forces operating together." But what "must be" is in fact far from being the case.

We have curiously come to the point where we are spending relatively more and getting relatively less for our money as each year now goes by. Isn't it high time to reform, rationalize and standardize the alliance's equipment and its overall system of research and development?

The Southern Baptists

By Foy Valentine

NASHVILLE. Tenn.—The question, "Who is Jimmy Carter?" is a complex one that was partly answered by the voters Nov. 2. The question, "Who are Southern Baptists?" is an even more complex one that now requires a special, if necessarily partial, answer in the context of recent goings-on at the Baptist Church of Plains, Ga., where the President-elect is a member and teaches a Sunday school class.

The incident at Plains has been at least parily racial. No matter that blacks have attended services at the church for years. No matter that the person primarily involved is not a Baptist. No matter that he is not a resident of the community. No matter that both the President-elect and his pastor have repeatedly, unequivocally opposed racism. No matter that the church has now reversed the deacons. The main character in that drama has been a black, so the incident is still at least partly racial; and Southern Baptists are properly questioned about it.

Who are Southern Baptists? Really? We are Christians. We have publicly, every one of us of his own free will and accord, confessed Jesus Christ as Lord and have subsequently been baptized as a symbol of our own burial by the grace of God to the old life of sin and our resurrection to walk in newness of life.

We are Baptists. Accepting the Bible as our guide in faith and practice, we have a focus on the importance of voluntarism in true religion, a conviction about the priesthood of the bekever, a belief in the worth of every individual, a concern for both evangelism and ethics, a congregational form of church government, a commitment to separation of church and state as the surest guarantee of religious liberty, and an understanding that God expects His changed people to change the world.

We are a national religious body. The name Southern Baptist Convention is a geographical misnomer, for our 13 million members are in more than 35,000 independent and completely autonomous churches scattered throughout all 50 states. On an average Sunday now, we baptize in our churches about 8,000 new members who have professed faith in Jesus. We support some 5,000 missionaries at home and abroad. Our churches last year received total gifts in excess of \$1.5 billion. We work closely and supportively with the Baptist World Alliance-some 35 million members, including about 12 million American

black Baptists.

We are, in the majority, Southerners

and Southwesterners. Yet we are actually quite heterogeneous: rich and poor, rural and urban, educated and uneducated. Republicans and Democrats, black and white, even Northern and Southern.

American neo-colonialism in South

Vietnam? Are their consciences trou-

bled with regard to the entire people of

Vietnam who must now overcome

enormous difficulties and accept all

manner of deprivations in order to

bind the wounds of war caused by

two million American soldiers armed

to the teeth, by the I5 million tons of

explosives and by the tens of thou-

sands of tons of American toxic

In spite of all that, the Vietnamese

Government, has proved by its acts and

its flexibility, its willingness to settle

the problem of the Americans missing

in the war in Vietnam. Furthermore,

who can deny the legitimate and legal

right of the Vietnamese people to de-

mand of the American Government

that it honor the signature of its rep-

resentatives and that it respect its

commitment to contribute to healing

the wounds of war and to the recon-

struction of Vietnam after the war?

ernment on a number of occasions

proposed talks with the American

Government in order to discuss settle-

ment of problems outstanding since

the Paris Agreements on Vietnam and

After the war, the Vietnamese Gov-

chemical products used in the war?

And we are sinners. Soren Kierkegaard said in "The Sickness Unto
Death" that Christianity begins with
the doctrine of sin. We understand
that. We know that not only have we
sinned in the past but that we are
sinners still, not just honorary sinners
but practicing, real sinners.

In a Baptist church, deacons can speak or act for themselves but they may not properly speak or act for the church except as expressly authorized to do so. No Baptist speaks for another. I am deeply grieved that soma deacons of the Baptist Church of Plains decided to try to keep the Rev. Clennon King out of their meeting house. I am deeply gratified, though not surprised, that the church has now voted decisively to abolish its 1965 racial barrier to membership, which it had passed in the white heat of the civil-

Most Southern Baptists lamented the action of some leaders at the Baptist Church of Plains not only because it scandalized the church but also because it shamefully aired the dirty linen of the 1960's and needlessly reopened old wounds that are slowly but surely healing, at precisely the time when the clearest possible Christian witness is needed.

As racism and race prejudice are prominent features in America's body politic, so they are besetting sins in the life of American churches in general and of Baptist churches in the South in particular. Racism is evil; It is nevertheless endemic in America. It is endemic in the North as well as in the South, in urban Detroit as well as rural Georgia, in the obscenities of Earl Butz as well as the obscenities of Lester Maddox, and in the silk-stocking high churches as well as the blueoveralls low churches. The sin of racism is one Southern Baptists as a whole do not wink at, gloss over, or

It may be remembered, moreover, that Southern-Baptist deacon Janmy Carter would not be President-elect if it had not been for the overwhelming support of his black Baptist brothers and sisters. That says something that helps to bring into perspective the incident at Plains.

Foy Valentine has been executive secretary of the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention since 1960.

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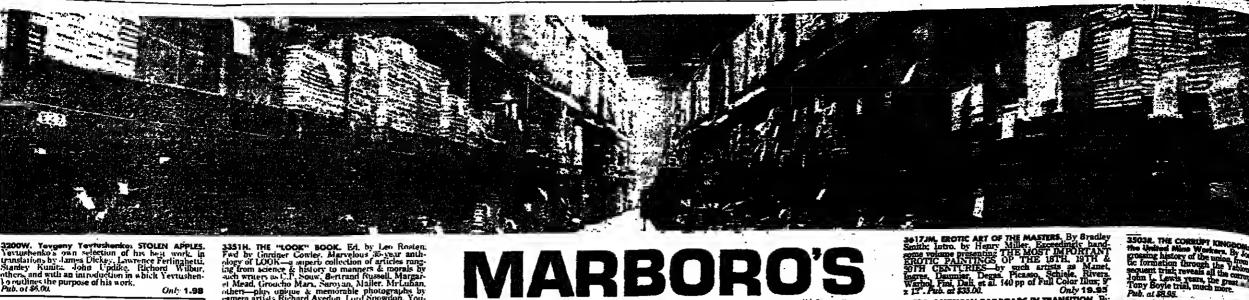
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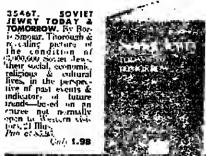
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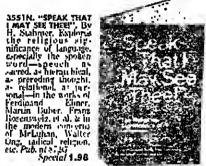
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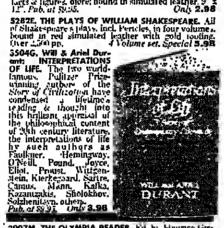
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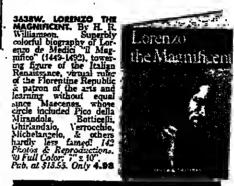
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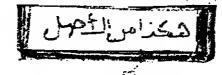
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